

Abraham Lincoln

The Great Commoner

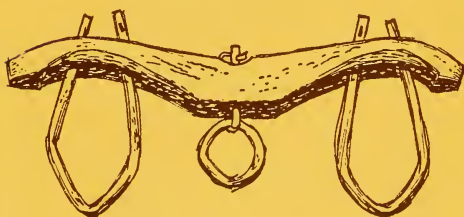
The Sublime Emancipator



By Col. F. W. Hart

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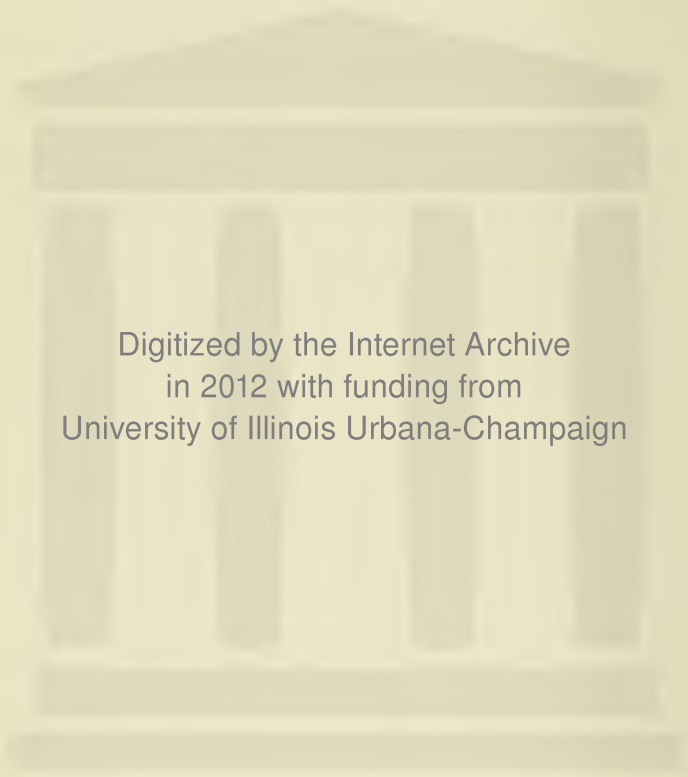
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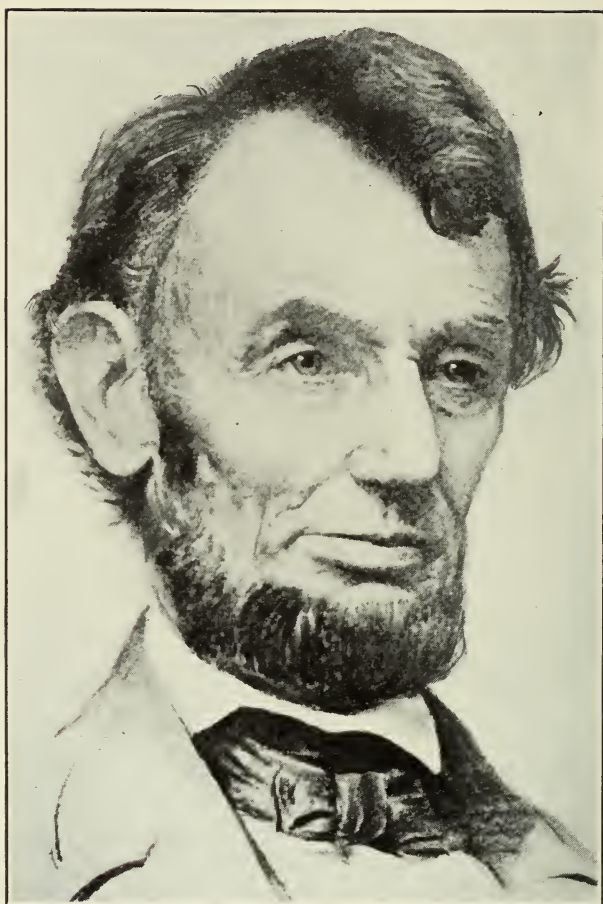


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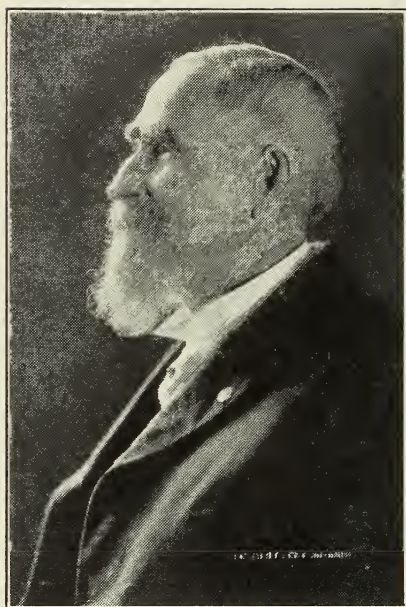
The Great Commoner
The Sublime Emancipator

By COL. F. W. HART



Press of PASADENA STAR-NEWS
Pasadena, California

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FRANKLIN W. HART.
A retired member of the Los Angeles
(California) Bar.

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*T*O the Young Men and Young Women
of America who aspire to the lofty aims,
the moral worth and intellectual attain-
ments of Abraham Lincoln, this Volume
is inscribed.

FRANKLIN W. HART,
*A Retired Member of the Los Angeles
(California) Bar*

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Introduction

THE mighty organ, in one of the classical cathedrals of Europe, was interpreting the soul of the skilled player who sat at the console. I stood awed, fascinated, subdued as impulse after impulse swept and swayed my soul. One moment the sacrificial zeal of the soldier marching forth to die for his country, the next moment the glee and the gladness of little children about the hearthstone, then the evening shadows with the crooning song of a loving mother and finally heaven's gate seemed to open and the glory of the Eternal filled the temple.

Col. Franklin W. Hart has proven himself to be a skilled historian as he deals majestically with "The Great Commoner, the Sublime Emancipator." There is in this book the human touch; the author knew Lincoln personally and heard the great debate between Lincoln and Douglas. We have in this book the distance so essential to true perspective. Colonel Hart brings to this work the sober judgment of maturity. Opinions and impressions have come under the chastening influence of the years and we have here the enduring reality. This book deserves an abiding place in the school room and in the home. Colonel Hart has poured his life blood into this volume—his money, patriotism, his intelligent convictions and his great love for Lincoln and the Flag.

It has been said: "Lincoln is one of the mysteries of history. The ancient molds were not used in shaping him. His career is as strange as legend, as dear as romance, as dark as tragedy, as real as sunlight." We are greatly indebted to the author for many new views of the Noble American, bringing us to feel the warm pulse of our common humanity.

If this book receives the attention it so well merits, then manhood, womanhood, youth and childhood all over America shall have a greater appreciation of the Union Colonel Hart fought to preserve, and Abraham Lincoln died to save.

S. S. SAMPSON, D. D.,
Huntington Park, California,
March 24th, 1927.

FOREWORD



“ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE GREAT COMMONER,
THE SUBLIME EMANCIPATOR”

EVER since I had the pleasure of hearing the Great Commoner, as Mr. Lincoln was then called, especially since my arrival at mature manhood, I have cherished a desire to give some permanent expression, through biography or otherwise, of my abiding appreciation of his great worth and character.

By so doing, I indulged the hope of making a slight contribution to the excellency of his name and fame; but I am conscious of the fact that any attempt on my part to add to either would be alike impossible.

As to my desire to chronicle the stirring events in the life of this eminent character, I would say that the absorbing duties of a professional career have hitherto prevented it. This humble volume is the product or consummation of that early desire and mature conviction. It has been a labor of love. Never has my time been more pleasantly employed than the few months consumed in the preparation and production of this biography.

It has been my pleasure to contribute much to the public press, on various subjects, during the past fifty or more years (for the lure of the pen has been about as drawing and pleasurable as has been the practice of law), but in no instance has the time thus employed afforded me such happiness as that which has been devoted to this work.

LIVED IN ILLINOIS

In my early years, I lived in Illinois, a few counties north of Springfield (Lincoln's home). This was during the period of his great political activity. I learned much of his early struggles, as well as his ultimate and marvelous achievements.

His political advancements were the more wonderful, since his early environment was unfortunate and his early education quite limited.

It was my good fortune, at the age of eighteen, to hear him in the first of his memorable debates with Judge Stephen A. Douglas. With an elder brother, I walked twelve or fourteen miles to thus see and hear him; and if I had walked one hundred miles, as many did, I regard the inspiration derived from that ever-memorable address sufficient compensation for the fatigue incident to the long journey on that hot August day in 1858. The whole course of my life and early ambition, if I had any, was changed from that hour.

His portrayal of the barbarism and horrors of slavery and the possibility of its extension to Northern and Western states, unless soon arrested, fired my young heart and brain to an extent theretofore unknown. Then and there, I swore eternal hatred to the diabolical institution, and in a few years, my name, with those of three brothers, was enrolled among my country's defenders.

All knew that the primary cause of the war was the existence of slavery, and all anticipated its abolition would be a probable result of the war, at least of its successful termination. It is now to me a pleasant reflection that within two years from the precipitation of the war, with one stroke of his pen, President Lincoln broke the shackles of slavery from the limbs of four millions of bondmen.

PERSONAL OBSERVATION

My readers will note that in the preparation of my work, allusions are occasionally made to incidents and stirring events of which I was a personal observer, or in which I was an active participant. I thought this might be a source of a little zest and pleasure to my young readers especially.

LINCOLN'S HARDSHIPS

It is often said that "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin." It is equally true that a touch of sorrow or bereavement makes all people kin; and further, any narration of a peculiar hardship or privation in the life of an individual finds a sympathetic response in the hearts of all men.

When I read of Lincoln's birth in a log cabin and of his unfortunate environment, of his effort to convert the dense forest into fields of fertility and productiveness, when I recalled the dangers he encountered from the wild beasts that roamed the forests, when I learned that he derived his subsistence largely from the wild game of the woods and the fowls of the air that responded to the accurate aim of his father's rifle; when I thought of all these hardships and privations attending the life of young Lincoln, it awoke a sympathetic regard in my own heart for him, as it did from all others who knew of the facts. I was in a peculiar position to sympathize with the hardships of young Abraham; for I, myself, and other members of my father's family, twenty-five years or more later, had undergone similar privations in the dense forests of Southern Michigan, some 200 miles north of young Lincoln's Indiana home.

LINCOLN AS A STORY TELLER

The unfailing humor of Mr. Lincoln and his aptitude for story-telling have become proverbial. He disclaimed the authorship of many stories for which others gave him credit, and often said that he was not the manufacturer, but the retailer of these stories.

It was generally believed that he was the author of about five hundred stories, and some of these he would relate betimes with telling effect and to the evident discomfiture of his antagonist.

It is claimed by his friends that Mr. Lincoln seldom told a story for his own amusement or for the mere sake of relating it. When he resorted to this diversion, he did so to enforce and illustrate a truth or to embellish and beautify an argument. At times, he would employ this intellectual weapon

with wonderful effectiveness, when all logic and argumentation had failed.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LINCOLN

I hope all will enjoy the dominant motives and aspirations of the great Lincoln's life, as related in Part Three of this volume. They embrace such features as his love of books, his naked honesty, his love of and for the common people, saying that "God must love the common people for he made so many of them"; also his care for the soldier boys, often saving them from the firing squad when a court martial's verdict had assigned them to death; also his religious life and his marvelous oratory.

In the darkest days of the great war period, when all seemed to be lost, he was wonderfully sustained by an unflinching trust in the overruling hand of Providence, and the assurance which such an abiding trust gave him of the ultimate triumph of the Union cause.

A pathetic story is related of a visit of Bishop Simpson, an eloquent Divine, at the White House, when the latter was requested by the President to tarry and pray for him and the soldiers at the front. With this request, the sorrowful Lincoln remarked that he was often driven to his knees with the overwhelming conviction that he had nowhere else to go. That his own wisdom and that of all around him were insufficient for the needs of that day. It is safe to say that the fervent, earnest petition reached the great white Throne on that occasion.

WAR HISTORY

It has not been my purpose to write an extended history of the war, as formerly stated; but those who desire historic accuracy (as far as I have gone) as to the number of contestants engaged on each side, so far as known, and results of each engagement, will find their wishes gratified in my recital of the accounts of the ten or twelve battles fought—being the greatest of the war—and some of the greatest, perhaps, of all wars and of all times.

ENDURING FAME

I am firm in the conviction that the name and fame of the great Commoner will go down in history through all time parallel with those of the great and good of all ages, with those of Socrates and Plato, Cicero and Caesar, Demosthenes and Pericles, Shakespeare and others, shining with increased perrenial splendor as the centuries come and go.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I beg to acknowledge my appreciation for the kindness of some authors in permitting me to make brief quotations from their works. In such instances I have endeavored to give proper credits by stating the names of the authors and their publishers on the same pages where the excerpts are recorded.

I desire to give special recognition of the great pleasure and inspiration I have received from a perusal of the fine work of "Lincoln" by Wayne Whipple, the noted author of New York City.

I wish to remark in this concluding paragraph that no thought of financial remuneration has entered into the mind of the writer in penning this volume.

If in the portrayal of the worth and nobility of character possessed by the great Emancipator, I have in any way contributed to his enduring fame, or have inspired the youth of America to cherish his virtues and emulate his example, my work will not be in vain; the desire and purpose of this author will have been attained.

FRANKLIN W. HART,
Huntington Park (Los Angeles), Calif.

PART ONE
THE RISE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD, YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

ABRAMHAM LINCOLN was easily the foremost American statesman of the last century, if not of all centuries.

His mind was a copious fountain of political lore and civil jurisprudence. Everything written or spoken of him is still read with increasing interest and profit, and will be as long as time and memory endure. His influence for good is more potent now and more extensively felt than it was when the assassin's bullet ended his mortal career. The reason is apparent. "He spake as never man spake." His charming personality and address, with his graciousness of speech drew, like his Master, all men unto him.

Of his impressive, forceful eloquence, I will make later mention. Of him it can be said, which can not be affirmed of any other man since the dawn of history, as I think, that of his manly worth and nobility of character over one thousand books have been written. And the end is not yet. The historian's pen is as busy as ever, perhaps more so, in giving perpetuity to his great name and fame. The second history of the great Lincoln, now in press, by that classic, brilliant writer, Ida M. Tarbell, will soon be read by admiring millions.

Carlyle was wont to say that "biography is the most universally pleasant, universally profitable of all reading." Another has said that "the biography of great men is the history of the world." This is especially and peculiarly true when applied to a great character like that of the immortal Lincoln.

No one can read his biography without becoming familiar with the great men and measures and the great movements that

have characterized the history of the United States for the past one hundred or more years.

The love of literature, especially biographic literature, is a common impulse or characteristic, I think, of all intelligent readers, old and young alike. It is so now and has been from the remotest antiquity.

This method or kind of reading should be encouraged among our high school students especially, as they will obtain a knowledge of great political events and world movements that can scarcely be acquired in any other way. Thus, if you read the lives of Cyrus the great, Darius, and Xerxes, his son, you have the record of their military achievements in Media and Persia, as well as the union of the two empires and the fall of Babylon; read the life of Leonidas and you have the wondrous story of his valor, whereby, with his Spartan band of three hundred, he withstood the unnumbered hosts of Xerxes, army, for many days, before the walls of Thermopylae. To no such act of heroism, can we find a parallel in all the pages of recorded history. Read the history of Philip of Macedon and his noted son, Alexander the Great (one hundred and fifty years later) and you have a satisfactory knowledge of Macedon and its people, together with the military conquest of the world; read the life of Hannibal and his partial subjugation of Rome (a hundred years later), and you have a good history of the Carthaginians and the three Punic wars which lasted over a century; read the lives of Demosthenes, Pericles, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle (his disciple) and you have a nearly complete history of cultured Greece; read Cicero, Julius Caesar, Scipio, Africanus and their contemporaries and you will learn much of imperial Rome; read the lives of Frederick the First, Frederick the Great, and the late bloody Kaiser and you have largely the history of Germany; read the lives of the French kings from Louis VIII. to Louis Phillippe, with those of the

distinguished Mirabeau, Robespierre, Marie Antoinette, LaFayette and the great Napoleon and you have the history of France, a history that extends back over a thousand years, and comes down to and includes the French Revolution; read the history of the kings and queens of England from the time of the Norman conquest, about a thousand years ago, (where English history properly begins) down to and including Victoria's reign, with England's military heroes, Oliver Cromwell, the Duke of Wellington, with Britain's eminent statesmen of more recent date, Gladstone, John Bright, Lord Beaconsfield, Lloyd George and others, and you have a very illuminating and almost complete history of old England.

Let us consider the history of our American forbears for a moment. As to the statement that biographies of eminent men and women give the most satisfactory and comprehensive history of the country of which they are residents, the lives of our own patriots afford abundant proof. Read the history of these illustrious men: Benjamin Franklin, John and Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Webster, Clay, John C. Calhoun, Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson; read the lives of these eminent statesmen and you will have a most copious, comprehensive, satisfactory history of this great Republic; a history extending from the date of the Declaration of Independence down to the present decade. Such biographies should enrich the libraries and adorn all the homes in this great land of ours.

As Mr. Lincoln lived a sacrificial life and died a martyr to the cause of civil liberty and human rights (resulting in the liberation of a race of bondmen) his name and fame will be held in affectionate regard as long as time and memory last. Hence the multiplicity of his biographies and readers being in advance of any other person or potentate living or dead.

As the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are held in endearing remembrance for the distinguished service they both rendered their country, they are often mentioned in the same connection, the one as the father of his country and the other its preserver. They were both born in the month of February, though not in the same year, of course. It may be a matter of note that many eminent men were born in the month of February, including St. Valentine, Charles Dickens, James Parton and Horace Greeley.

It is quite fitting, as has been the custom during the month of February of each returning year to commemorate the worth and achievements of General Washington and President Lincoln by appropriate memorial services at one and the same time.

In their early education and later attainments there were numerous and marked resemblances. General Washington derived most of his education from his mother, and so did President Lincoln. In early life Washington became a surveyor, and so did Lincoln. Young Washington was early employed in the military service of his country, and so was young Lincoln, in the Black Hawk War. Washington was elected to the Legislature of his State, when a young man; likewise, Lincoln. Washington was elected to the Continental Congress; Lincoln to the National Congress of 1846. Washington was elected President of the United States, and so was Lincoln.

Both were men of prayer; General Washington prayed early and late at Valley Forge for his soldiers; President Lincoln prayed at the White House all night for his soldiers at Gettysburg during that memorable engagement. General Washington achieved a marvelous victory over his enemy at Yorktown, Va.; President Lincoln won a similar victory over his enemy at Appomattox, in the same State.

Here the resemblances of these eminent statesmen cease and their contrasts begin. Washington was a man of great

wealth for his day, while Lincoln was always comparatively poor. Washington could not speak in public, seldom attempted to; while Lincoln was an orator of distinguished, almost unparalleled ability. The writer has heard many eminent statesmen and political orators during the past sixty or seventy years, but in point of a clear, logical, forceful presentation of a subject, never heard Mr. Lincoln's equal.

Shortly after his election to the Presidency in 1860 Mr. Lincoln was requested to give a short history of his life for publication. He consented to do so, but stated it would be only the "plain and simple annals of the poor." "I was born," he said, "February 12, 1809, in Harden County, Kentucky, at a point within the now County of Larue, a mile or a mile and a half from where Hodgen's mill now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know of no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolen Creek."

The Lincoln family belonged in no sense to what is called "the poor white trash" of the South, as some writers have maintained; Abraham Lincoln was descended on both sides by long lines of honest, thrifty and respected English and American ancestors.

Mr. Lincoln, like Daniel Webster and other noted statesmen, was born in a log cabin. It was located in a dense forest southwest from the present city of Louisville, at the point above named. The environment of this wild country was not such as would stimulate or promote the mental growth of a child, nor any aspirations he may have had in his adolescent years. His mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was a woman of fine intellectual endowment and of eminent piety. She early taught her young son and Sally, his older sister, the simple rudiments of an education, such as reading, writing and spelling. No schools were then established in that new country; neither were

there any churches there, but the good mother, desirous of instructing her children in things divine, would call them to her knee and unfold to them the great truths of the Holy Bible. She would also explain to and instruct them in the cardinal principles of the Christian religion. This gave a bent and inspiration to young Abraham's mind that remained with him, during all the years of his subsequent life. He often stated, in later years, that all that he was or hoped to be, he owed to his sainted mother.

In these early years, his only society, aside from that of his parents, was afforded him by the wild beasts of the field, and his music came from the sweet songsters of the forest. In Spring time, the sweet voice of the whip-poor-will would greet his ear. The shrill cry of the owl and the snarl of a panther would occasionally disturb his quiet slumbers.

When young Abraham was seven years old, Thomas Lincoln, his father, decided to move to Indiana. The title to public lands in Kentucky seemed to be defective, and Mr. Lincoln wished to secure a homestead in a territory where his holdings would be secure. Being equipped with the necessary cooking utensils for the journey, he set out to hunt a location in the dense forest north of the Ohio River. His pathway led him through an almost untrodden wilderness. He soon found a place that suited him, about sixteen miles north of the river. It was located between the forks of big and little Pigeon Creeks, near the little town of Gentryville, in the State of Indiana. Lincoln staked out his claim (which has since become famous as the "Lincoln Farm") and returned on foot to Kentucky for his family, consisting of his wife Nancy, little Sally and Abraham. After some hardships incident to travel in an unbroken forest, they arrived at their destination.

The ground was soon cleared and the construction of a cabin begun. Material was abundant, though in the rough.

The claim was covered with a great forest of trees, including sugar-maple, walnuts, oaks, beeches and elms. Young Abraham, being large for his age, aided his father materially with his "little ax" in the preparation and completion of the cabin home. A temporary abode was made of poles, soon to be supplanted by a substantial log cabin.

The second house was made of rough, unhewed logs, and for many years was devoid of floor, door or window. A deer-skin hung before the exit, and a small hole in the wall gave them a little light. The furniture was of the rudest sort, and of their own manufacture. The tables and chairs were made of rough slabs in which holes were bored and legs fitted in. Their bedstead consisted of poles fastened to the wall by wooden pins.

There was only one room in the cabin, which sufficed for parlor, dining room, bedroom, kitchen and everything else. A curtain suspended from a pole separated the bed from the balance of the house. There was a loft in the cabin to which young Lincoln mounted by means of pegs driven in the wall. In one corner of this loft was a bed of leaves, on which he soundly slept.

A small space in the woods was quickly cleared and put in cultivation. On this were their vegetables and corn raised, and from the latter, the best of corn dodgers were made. The rivers teemed with fish and water fowl, and the woods abounded with game and wild animals. The crack of the father's rifle meant execution, and many fat deer, elks, bears, wild turkeys, etc., came to earth, in response to his fine marksmanship. These afforded the Lincolns abundant meat for the winter, while in summer the menu was supplemented with the choicest of fish, water fowl, squirrels, raccoon and opossum. Wild fruits in abundance, such as dewberries, huckleberries and blackberries were everywhere obtainable. Then later came the nut gather-

ing, when hickorynuts, black walnuts and butternuts literally covered the ground. On this frugal yet nutritious diet, young Abraham grew up and developed a strong physical constitution, a giant-like constitution, which served him so well in all the varied and exacting conflicts of his subsequent career.

When the lad was nine years old, the shadow of a great sorrow came over his pathway.

In the fall of 1818, the community in which the Lincolns were residing suffered a visitation of that dread disease, known then in the West as "milk-sickness." Several of their neighbors shortly sickened and died with the ailment, and in a few days Abe's mother became affected with the disease. Her sufferings were of short duration, and in a few days "she rested from her labors."

Shortly before her departure she called her children, Abe and Sally, to her bedside and requested them to be kind and loving to their father, and good to each other, and to be faithful and true to their dear Lord, in whose word she had so affectionately instructed them. They buried her in the wood lawn not far from the humble cabin in which she had died.

No clergyman was available in that far-off wilderness to perform the sad rites at her burial as was the usual custom, so young Abraham wrote, what he afterwards called his first letter, to a Baptist preacher by name of Parson Elkin, 'way back in Kentucky, with whom he had had some previous acquaintance, and requested him to come to their distant home at his early convenience and preach his mother's funeral sermon. The parson quickly replied that as soon as his duties called him in that direction, he would come. So one day in the following June, when all nature was lovely, the trees bedecked and waving with their green foliage, the air fragrant with the flower's sweet perfume, the ground covered with a carpet of green, the clergyman arrived.

The next day being the Sabbath, the family, the parson and a few neighbors repaired to the mound containing the loved form of the departed one, and there, under the waving oaks and elms, the man of God delivered a sympathetic and impressive discourse. As he described to them the loneliness of the cabin home and the great loss they had sustained in the departure of their precious mother and companion, portraying the worth and nobility of her character, the high esteem in which she was held by her neighbors and friends, and finally invoking the blessing of Heaven upon the dear children and husband, in this, their hour of supreme bereavement, their young hearts were deeply moved, and the impressions thus made upon young Abraham were never effaced from his memory. This was the first great sorrow that had come to the lives of young Abraham and his sister Sally; both were tender in years, one being nine and the other eleven. Both tried to attend to the household duties and console their father as best they could. Abraham had acquired a love for reading through the inspiration of his mother, and that aided them in beguiling away sad hours.

The months following were periods of extreme loneliness to Thomas Lincoln, and wishing to repair his broken home and secure a mother for his half-orphaned children, at the expiration of a year or more, he journeyed to his old Kentucky home and brought back a lovely widow as his wife. Her name was Sarah Bush Johnson, whom he had known in her girlhood days as Sally Bush. She proved to be a lady of fine domestic and social capabilities, and in many other ways, fully measured up to everything he might desire in a companion. She brought with her her three children, over whom, with young Abraham and Sally Lincoln, she exercised a mother's tender care and solicitude. She early formed a strong attachment for the lad, and he in turn fully reciprocated her warm affection. This

tender relationship continued during the period of their respective lives. In later years he showed his love and attachment to his stepmother in a very substantial way; the first attorney fee of \$500 he earned after he became a law practitioner he used in the purchase of a quarter section of land for her. His friends attempted to dissuade him from this large expenditure, but his love and affection for her were so strong that nothing could move him.

Returning now to his early life after the new mother had come into the home, it is pleasant to note that young Abe, as he was then called, and Sally were tenderly cared for. The second mother attended to their much needed wardrobe, and with her own children started them to school.

The distance to the school house was four or five miles, but the walk gave them needed exercise and sharpened their appetites for the generous noon lunch the good mother provided. This consisted of corn dodgers, fried rabbit or fowl, nuts or dried berries. Young Abe learned rapidly, so much so that none of his class could keep pace with him. For some reason his school days were of short duration, for in after years, he stated that he never attended school to exceed nine months in his life. However, he was an apt student and continued his studies at home with unflagging zeal.

Permit me to digress briefly.

This writer is in a position to sympathize with the Lincolns in their pioneer home; for the same hardships, privations, bereavements and pleasures, incident to their lives, were encountered by my father and his family, a few decades later, just across the border in the State of Michigan. Well do I recall the dark, almost impenetrable, forests, the numerous lakes, the rivers and brooklets, the fishing excursions, (often with a fisherman's luck) the coon hunts in month of October, the husking and apple-paring bees, the attendant dances at

night, the old log school house, with the old master and his beech whip in the corner, compelling immediate and constant obedience, the spelling schools and the further pleasure of escorting our sweethearts home through the snow. I also recall the sweet venison and fat wild turkey meat, products of father's good marksmanship, that adorned our table and filled our hungry stomachs. These were sources of pleasant remembrance and will remain so for all time.

But sorrow at last cast its shadow across our threshold. The death angel came one November day and took our beloved father from us. No one knows the anguish of such a bereavement unless he has sustained a similar loss. His dear form reposes in the old church cemetery where we tenderly placed it over seventy years ago, in the old Wolverine state.

Returning to the life of young Abraham: As he grew in his "teens," he became very efficient "with his little axe" in aiding his father in cutting the underbrush and felling the large trees, burning the same and preparing the ground for the plow and subsequent cultivation. With the old family team, a yoke of patient, plodding oxen at the front end of the plow and young Abe at the handles, with an inspiring rod in his hands for "Brock and Brady" as they were called, many acres of the virgin soil were soon turned to the sun, and annually thereafter produced bounteous crops, all in response to the hands of patient industry.

As he increased in years and approaching early manhood, Abe became an athlete of marvelous strength and endurance. In all manly sports, as well as the social, political, physical and intellectual activities of the community, he was the recognized leader. He became a great wrestler, and in this manly art no one in all the "sap bush" could cope with him. When he saw large boys doing injury to smaller ones, or anyone violating the recognized rules of conduct in society, he would

give the culprits a respectable flogging and send them home. In the clearing of forests and the development of farms in his community, he was always in great demand. He could split more rails and build more fences in a day, probably, than any man in his county. This fact was an element of strength to him in all the subsequent events of his political activities. By this and similar events he enshrined himself in the affections of the American people, especially the toiling millions, more than any other act or circumstance that possibly could have happened.

When Abe had nearly reached his majority, Thomas Lincoln, who was of a roving disposition, decided to move to Macon County, Illinois, near Decatur, where John Hanks, a relative, had previously moved. So leaving his farm with Mr. Gentry of Gentryville, Thomas Lincoln sold a few of his effects, and loading the rest on his wagon, with his family, he started with his two yoke of oxen and wagon for his western destination. Abe followed his father and paid his expenses by peddling a few trinkets along the way. It took a fortnight to make the journey. John Hanks had anticipated their coming and had the logs cut and prepared for the Lincoln cabin.

With Abe's assistance, the cabin was soon up and ready for the family. He stayed with his father the following summer, though past 21, and helped to fence part of the new claim (which had been secured by John Hanks before arrival of the Lincolns) and, with the aforesaid oxen, broke up fifteen acres of the ground.

Shortly after arriving at his majority, Lincoln left his father's home near Decatur and started out to carve his fortune. He went to a small village called New Salem, a few miles northwest of Springfield, Ill. Here he found employment with a man by name of Offutt, for whom he had formerly worked, while living near Decatur. Mr. Offutt owned

a store in the small town and a mill near by. Young Lincoln worked in the store and superintended the mill.

His time not being wholly occupied in the Offutt store, young Lincoln arranged to take up the study of grammar, for which he had had a previous desire, but no opportunity. His teachers, during the few months he had been in school, taught him to read, write and spell, and also taught him in arithmetic as far as the rule of three; but in grammar he had no instruction for the simple reason that his teachers had no knowledge of that branch of instruction themselves. In New Salem he met a scholarly man by name of Mentor Graham, an old school teacher, to whom Abe had confided his ambition, and who encouraged him in his new undertaking.

No English grammar being available in the village, Abe was informed that one could be secured at the home of a Mr. Vaner, some six miles distant. Thither he went with his characteristic fleetness, and soon returned with a copy of Kirkham's grammar. During the intervals of time, not occupied in waiting on customers, he fairly buried himself in the leaves of his new-found book. At times when he could be spared from the store, he would repair to some shady nook, near by, and there under a tree would continue to pore over his book. He was encouraged and sometimes instructed by his new friend and others, until a few months later, he had fully mastered the contents of his Kirkham.

This was a great achievement for the aspiring young Lincoln, for he had been told by his new teacher, Mr. Graham, that he could not become an effective public speaker (for which he aspired) without a thorough knowledge of the English grammar.

Back in Gentryville, when young Abe had arrived at his middle "teens" he had developed a talent and efficiency in public debate that was quite remarkable for a youth of his

age. Oftentimes the trees and stumps were his only auditors.

There were but few books and papers accessible to him, but he possessed a retentive memory and could recall and reproduce in debate, the knowledge thus attained, with wonderful effectiveness. In New Salem, his fine talent for public speaking was soon recognized and he was frequently called to the front on great occasions. He took an early interest in politics, and being a Whig, was often called to measure intellectual and political swords with the best of the Democratic orators who visited the town. He could cope with any of them, and would often put to rout his antagonists and nearly pulverize both them and their specious arguments. Lincoln continued his services in the store till Offutt "broke up" and left many sorrowful creditors. Lincoln then engaged in various jobs, taking work in any enterprise which would give him employment.

Subsequently, a stock of goods was purchased at a discount by a man by name of Berry from Wm. Greene, and with Mr. Berry, Lincoln formed a partnership, the firm name being "Berry and Lincoln." The capital was small, and furnished by Berry; Lincoln was very efficient and popular as a salesman. The latter qualification was probably what secured the partnership for Lincoln. Shortly after this partnership was formed, a little incident occurred which changes the whole course of Lincoln's life.

An immigrant drove up in front of the store one day, with his family and some dilapidated household goods in the wagon. This included a barrel-full of stuff of little value. The owner was short of funds and proposed to sell to Lincoln the barrel with its contents for most anything the latter was willing to offer. Lincoln offered a half-dollar for it, out of sympathy for the owner, and secured it. The barrel contained a prize that proved of inestimable value to Lincoln. At the bottom of the

rubbish was found a complete edition of Blackstone's Commentaries.

Lincoln began reading these works at his leisure, with somewhat indifference at first, but the longer he read the more interested he became. He stated in after years that "never in all his life was his mind so thoroughly absorbed." He read, he says, till he fully devoured them.

This being at the season of the year when farmers were quite busy with their crops, Lincoln had the more time, not needed in the store, to devote to his law studies.

Fortunate for the world (as the future disclosed) the store did not pay. The senior partner neglected his business, became dissipated, and soon expired, his death being hastened by excessive use of rum, as was alleged. The effects of the store brought but little, and the firm was practically bankrupt. Through no fault of Lincoln's, large debts had accumulated.

The nobility of the young man came now to the fore. No attempt was made by him to evade his financial responsibility. No thought was entertained to seek relief through bankrupt proceedings (as some might have suggested to him); but he did the manly thing. According to John Hay, a future Lincoln historian, he promised to pay when he could, and it took the labor of years to do it, but he paid the last farthing of the debt, which seemed to him and his friends so large that it was called among them, "the national debt." Now, as the store had "winked out" as he denominated it, Lincoln applied himself more diligently to the study of law, being encouraged by his friend, Major John T. Stewart, who loaned him the needed law books. The study of law was frequently interrupted by the necessity incumbent on him to earn a livelihood for himself and to earn added funds to pay on the aforementioned indebtedness.

To him, the adage, "where there is a will, there is a way," was quite applicable; for his strong arm and active brain soon

secured for him abundant employment. His services were quickly sought for and obtained on farms, in stores, keeping books and at various other remunerative employments.

Prior to young Lincoln's engagements in mercantile pursuits he constructed a flat boat (in which work he had had previous experience in Indiana) on which were loaded the surplus products of the farm, dairy or orchard, to be floated down the Mississippi river to New Orleans and exchanged for such goods as were needed up North, as sugar, molasses, cotton goods, etc. Lincoln was chosen as pilot. Right well did he discharge his arduous, sometimes dangerous, duty.

He pushed out into the Sangamon river from New Salem and floated down to the Illinois River, to the Mississippi, and on the bosom of this river they soon glided on to and passed Alton, St. Louis, Cairo, Vicksburg and Natches, finally reaching New Orleans. He and his companions passed several weeks in the Crescent City, disposing of their cargo and viewing the sights.

Here for the first time, young Lincoln saw the horrors of human slavery. One morning he and his associates walked to the slave market, where he saw negroes, male and female, in chains, and being whipped and scourged, sold to the highest bidder, and separated, parents from children and children from parents, never to see each other again. Finally, a beautiful mulatto girl was brought to the front. She was exposed to the indignity of being examined as to the soundness of her limbs, eyes, ears, having her flesh pinched, and then being paced up and down the road like a horse to be sold. All these scenes occurred in Lincoln's presence. His blood soon ran up to fever heat, and turning away in disgust, he remarked to his companions that "If I ever get a chance to hit this thing (meaning slavery) I will hit it hard."

He seemed to think that some time he would have some part in manumitting these slaves. Little did he think, however, that within about thirty years he would, with one stroke of his pen, strike the fetters from the limbs of four millions of an enslaved race forever.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICS AND MARRIAGE

IN the spring of 1832, a band of Sacs and other hostile Indians invaded the northern part of Illinois, producing terror among the inhabitants. The Governor of the State called for volunteers to repel their invasion. Lincoln heard the call and soon enrolled his name among his country's defenders.

A company was soon formed, with rendezvous at Beardstown, not far from New Salem. An organization of the company was quickly formed by the election of Lincoln as captain. At the election, Lincoln had one rival for the position, a man by name of Kirkpatrick. A suggestion was made that each soldier should stand by the side of the man of his choice and when the command "march" was given, three-fourths surrounded young Lincoln. This was a source of great pleasure to Lincoln, as he afterwards related, no subsequent achievement giving him as much satisfaction as this.

Captain Lincoln soon ingratiated himself in the minds and goodwill of his soldiers, his sentiments being reciprocated fully and freely by his comrades in the ranks. No great battle was precipitated during the ensuing campaign to enable the young captain to display his prowess and military skill; yet during the war, which was of short duration, he discharged his duties as the commanding officer of his company with fidelity and honor, and at the close, returned to the peaceable pursuits of life, at New Salem, old Sangamon County, Ill.

Many officers of subsequent note in statecraft and other positions were in that campaign. Included in the number were Zachary Taylor, then colonel of the regular army, afterwards

a distinguished general in the Mexican war; Albert Sidney Johnson, an eminent general of the Southern Confederacy, in later years; Robert Anderson, lieutenant of artillery, who later was in command at Fort Sumter at the time of its capitulation; also, there were Jefferson Davis, afterwards president of the so-called Southern Confederacy, and others of lesser note.

It is significant as well as interesting to recall that later, Lincoln confronted many of these subsequent Confederate officers, when he was not a captain of a small company, but commander of the military forces of a great nation.

On his return from the Black Hawk War, Captain Lincoln decided to run for the State Legislature. Four representatives were to be elected that fall from Sangamon County. Lincoln was placed at some disadvantage, inasmuch as only two weeks remained before the date of election. Besides this, he had a formidable candidate opposing him in the person of old Peter Cartright, an able and eccentric clergyman, of marked ability, well and favorably known.

Lincoln, however, possessed fine platform ability for a young man, had the prestige of a soldier who had responded so quickly to his country's call, and was popular with all classes of people. He pushed the battle to the wall, speaking almost day and night up to the day of election. He created great enthusiasm wherever he spoke and secured a remarkable following, considering the short time he had at his command. However, it was impossible for him to visit the remote sections of his county, and thus he lost many votes, which otherwise would have been accorded him. He lost the election by a small majority, his opponent receiving 815 votes, while Lincoln received 657. While this was a minority vote, it was a source of great satisfaction to Lincoln and his friends to know that he mustered so large a following in so brief a period.

This campaign established Lincoln's popularity beyond a

doubt, as the future years disclosed. He recalled with great pride that during the remainder of his life, this was the only time he was ever beaten by the direct vote of the people. This defeat by no means discouraged him. He devoted himself to any kind of remunerative employment then available. He was appointed postmaster of his town, which he appreciated. He discharged its duties with fidelity and acceptability. His honesty in this position became a matter of note, to which I will refer in a subsequent chapter.

The County of Sangamon was large, and numerous deputy surveyors were needed. Captain Lincoln, desirous of opportunity to learn surveying, accepted eagerly an appointment as deputy surveyor. This was in the fall of 1833. Lincoln knew but little, if anything, about surveying, but he was anxious to learn. He knew, as did his friends, that whatever he undertook, or was willing to undertake, he could master, if proper time was given him. This, the surveyor (Mr. Calhoun) was willing to grant. Procuring an old treatise on surveying, and securing the aid of his old school master, Mentor Graham, Lincoln applied himself with untiring zeal, day and night, to his task. In six weeks he had accomplished his purpose, having mastered all the books at his command that treated on that subject.

He at once reported to Mr. Calhoun and was assigned to a locality in the northern part of the county. His work there and elsewhere in the county had the merit of being correct, and was never controverted or opposed by anyone in or out of court, so far as I have ever been able to learn. He received as compensation for his services, the sum of three dollars per day, being an amount in advance of anything he had previously obtained. This enabled him to pay part, but not all his financial obligations, for it should be remembered that his store indebtedness, incurred through no fault of his, still hung

over him. In addition to this, he recognized a filial obligation to aid his worthy father in time of need, and so sent him a remittance occasionally.

The nuggets thus obtained helped him materially in the liquidation of his indebtedness, and the knowledge of surveying stood him well in the future practice of his legal profession, whenever that question was involved.

During Mr. Lincoln's residence at New Salem, perhaps about two years after his arrival, he went to board with a new-made but highly esteemed friend, by name of James Rutledge. He was a man of fine intelligence and a prosperous merchant of the town. In his home were three daughters, Ann Rutledge being the third. She was not a lady of refinement and culture, as that term is known in the East. Nevertheless, she was a lady of respectable literary attainments and accomplishments, having improved every opportunity for mental and social culture that were afforded by the thriving new village in which she resided. To young Lincoln, she was the most charming lady he had ever met. She early recognized in him qualities that were not possessed by any other of her gentlemen acquaintances.

He was tall, awkward, unprepossessing, yet was a young man of rare natural endowments. He had been a candidate for the State Legislature, and his superior ability as a political orator was everywhere recognized. A mutual attachment was soon formed. Respect was changed to admiration, and this soon matured into love. An engagement followed, but the date of the nuptials was postponed till after the completion of his law studies.

Lincoln was now the happiest of men and he became more so as the months came and went, and the time drew nigh when there would be a glorious consummation of the marriage vow, when he and Ann would be one. But how true, and sad as it

is true, that "man proposes, but God disposes." The shadow of a great sorrow came over his pathway, which was never entirely removed. The health of Miss Rutledge became impaired through a misfortune, the nature of which I will not stop to relate, and she grew weaker gradually till death came to her relief. The shock of this great and unexpected bereavement almost dethroned the reason in her young affianced.

Shortly prior to her death, and in response to her request, young Lincoln came to her bedside. What passed between them in the last moments of that solemn interview and farewell will never be known. The inexpressible anguish that must have filled the heart of Abraham Lincoln can better be imagined than expressed.

"I never can be reconciled," he said, "to have the snow, rain and storms beat upon her grave." In this hour of supreme bereavement, he was wont to recall a poem he had learned in early life, beginning: "Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud." Its repetition afforded him some consolation in the many lonely hours that followed. His many friends came to his relief in their expression of sympathy and condolence, but many years passed before his grief was assuaged.

Shortly after the death of Miss Rutledge, which occurred August 25, 1835, Lincoln was invited to the rural home of a dear acquaintance, Bowling Green. Here he found rest and recuperation. It is also reported that soon he took a trip back to his old Kentucky home, accompanied by a dear friend. This was done that a change of scene and associations might ameliorate if not remove the mental depression that had come recently into his life. The change was productive of good results. In a few months, Abraham Lincoln was himself again, and returning to old Sangamon County, he resumed the study of law with his old-time ardor and enthusiasm.

The next year, 1836, he was admitted to the bar. This, he

and his friends regarded as a great achievement. He had begun and pursued the study of law under unfavorable circumstances; no law books to begin with, except an edition of Blackstone; he had to depend on friends at Springfield, twenty-five miles away, for additional books; met with commercial disaster, through the defalcation of a dissipated partner, left with a heavy debt to liquidate (which he proceeded manfully to do); engaged in any and every kind of employment, physical and mental, that would keep soul and body in the same neighborhood, and afford a little surplus to pay on the above named indebtedness. Above all and beyond all these hardships and disappointments, he lost his lovely Ann. This nearly drowned his ambition and crushed his life. To most young men, these would have been insurmountable difficulties; but not so with young Lincoln. In him was the "stuff that men are made of."

It is often said that "Virtue is its own reward." It is equally true with character and manhood. During the few years that Lincoln had resided in Sangamon County, his friends and fellow citizens had learned and appreciated his worth and nobility. In 1834 they nominated him for the Legislature and triumphantly elected him thereto.

Three other able and distinguished citizens of the county were elected to the same Legislature; but history records the fact that he received the largest majority of any of them.

Mr. Lincoln was three times re-elected to the Legislature, making four times in all, each time receiving a larger majority vote than any of his colleagues. This excited not a little jealousy in the minds of his associates. The reason is quite plain. He had been a resident of the county but a short time, six years in all, a man without education or prestige, employed in menial labor (as others might term it) such as splitting rails, chopping wood and making flat boats. While his Legislative associates considered themselves as picked men, eminent

lawyers, judges and the like, they knew that Mr. Lincoln was a poor man and seemed at first to lightly esteem him. Had he repudiated his debts and gone into bankruptcy (as many would have done in his circumstances) he probably would have accumulated some property, before going to the Legislature, and he could then say, as Benjamin Franklin made poor Richard say: "Now I have a pig and a cow, and every man bids me good morning."

A few ducats in a man's pocket raises him mightily in the estimation of some men. When his associates started to the Capitol they were able to ride on fine horses or in costly carriages to Vandalia, while Lincoln, unable to own either, would throw his boots over his shoulders and hike it to the Capitol. This is what he called riding on "shanks mare." He would often arrive there by cross-lot procedure, as soon as his associates would, though 75 miles from his home. When he arose to speak, with his tall form and commanding presence, and with a tongue and argument at once eloquent and convincing, he would usually carry every measure before him. The light esteem (if not disrespect) in which he was formerly held soon gave way to admiration and support by his legislative associates. In public debate or address, he was forceful, pungent; in repartee, was unexcelled, and woe to an antagonist on whose head he would draw down the fire.

Isaac N. Arnold, in his "Life of Abraham Lincoln," forcefully illustrates these qualities. He speaks concerning a great political meeting to be held at the Court House at Springfield, at which a number of Legislative candidates were to speak, Lincoln among the number.

This was his first appearance at the county seat "on the stump," and the people were on tip toe to hear him. After the several candidates, both Whig and Democratic, had spoken it fell to Mr. Lincoln to close the discussion. This he did with

great ability. There lived in Springfield a prominent citizen by the name of George Forquer. He had been prominent in public life as a leading Whig, the same party to which Lincoln belonged. He had recently changed his political affiliations and gone over to the Democratic party, and in recognition of his ability and influence, the Democratic administration had appointed him to the lucrative post of registrar of the land office at Springfield. On his fine residence, he had recently placed a lightning rod, the first ever put up in Sangamon County.

In riding into the city, Lincoln had observed the novelty of a lightning rod and discussed the manner in which it might protect the house from being struck with lightning.

Now this Forquer, though not a candidate, asked to be heard as a Democrat in reply to Mr. Lincoln. He was a good speaker and thought it his duty to attack and ridicule the young countryman from New Salem. He began by saying, "This young man must be taken down, and I am truly sorry the task devolves on me." He then proceeded, as Mr. Arnold says, in a very overbearing way, and with an assumption of great superiority, to attack Lincoln and his speech. He used sarcasm and vituperation in his further effort to belittle Mr. Lincoln, so much so that Mr. Lincoln's friends began to fear that he might become embarrassed and unable to cope with his antagonist. But their fears were soon allayed. As soon as Forquer had closed, Mr. Lincoln came to the front and fully and completely answered his opponent.

He began saying, "The gentleman (meaning Forquer) commenced his speech by saying that 'this young man,' meaning me, must be taken down. I am not so young in years as I am in the tricks and trades of a politician, but," said he, pointing to Forquer, "live or die young, I would rather die now, than, like the gentleman, change my politics, and with the change

receive an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then," continues he, "feel obliged to erect a lightning rod over my house to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God." Enough said. The electrical effect on the audience, then and there produced, can be better imagined than described. Lincoln had won his day.

In the Legislative session of 1837, an effort was made and finally a law was enacted, to remove the State capitol from Vandalia to Springfield. It appears that Sangamon County had two Senators and seven Representatives, known as the long nine, each being six feet and over in height, and men of distinction, in that session. Each used his influence and best endeavor for the success of the measure, but Abraham Lincoln was the most effective and distinguished participant. There was much opposition to the removal proposition to Springfield, there being nearly a dozen competing cities for the prize—six being very active rivals.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell, in her "Life of Abraham Lincoln," says, "No event prior to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise ever happened in Illinois which created so much excitement as the removal of the State capitol."

For a while the fate of the bill hung in a balance. At one time to all appearances, the bill was dead "and beyond resuscitation," as one writer declared. All eyes were now turned to Lincoln. He spoke in glowing terms of the meritorious claims of Springfield as the logical site and location for the new capitol; and proceeding in a forceful presentation of his subject, and with convincing, compelling, propelling eloquence, he swept, like an avalanche, everything before him. All knew that success was assured. The first ballot brought more votes for Springfield than any two rivals combined, and the fourth ballot brought the coveted victory. Springfield received the good news with great rejoicing, and when the "long nine"

returned to their home, Springfield, they were honored with numerous banquets, were dined and wined, but Abraham Lincoln was the hero, the lion of the occasion.

After the adjournment of the Legislature in March, 1837, Mr. Lincoln decided to remove to Springfield, the seat of the new capitol, to commence his life work as an attorney at law. He had been a resident of New Salem for a period of about six years and he readily saw that it never could compete with the capital in point of business nor afford him the advantages for a successful legal career that would be given him in the new location. Springfield was then a small town of about one thousand inhabitants, while the population of New Salem was rapidly declining and in a year or so became non-existent.

So Mr. Lincoln sold his surveying outfit for a few dollars, packed his small effects, including a few law books, into his saddle-bags, and mounting a horse loaned him by his good friend, Bowling Green, started for Springfield, twenty-five miles away. He was known in the city as an eminent Legislator and a distinguished orator, but had no record as a lawyer. They remembered and appreciated him for the great service he had rendered their city in securing the bringing of the capitol to Springfield, and hence were in a position to receive him with open arms and great cordiality.

It was quite fortunate for the young lawyer that in the new city he had a warm friend in the person of the Hon. John T. Stewart. He was a distinguished Whig who had aided and befriended young Lincoln by loaning him law books, had encouraged him in the study thereof, and had served a term or so with him in the State Legislature.

He knew the latent talent, and anticipated the brilliant career of the young attorney, and at once offered him a law partnership. This was accepted gladly by Mr. Lincoln, as Mr. Stewart was an old resident, an eminent lawyer and en-

joyed a good legal practice. The firm of Stewart and Lincoln continued for four years, having a respectable if not a lucrative practice during the entire period of their partnership.

It was fortunate that during this time Mr. Lincoln had the privilege of measuring intellectual swords with many attorneys who were very able at the bar, and who attained subsequent renown. The list included the names of Stephen A. Douglas, who was Lincoln's strong political rival for twenty years, Judge Stephen T. Logan, Ninian W. Edwards, John T. Stewart and several others.

Mr. Lincoln often met these eminent lawyers in legal battle array and was soon able to cope with the best of them. This was especially true in jury trials. He possessed a logical mind and was very lucid in his ability to reason from cause to effect. Besides this, he possessed a facility for copious and extended illustrations, by means of which he seldom failed to convince the most obdurate jurymen of the merit of his case and win his vote in the final deliberation of the trial in the jury room. During the six years of his residence in Sangamon County he had established a reputation for honesty which stood him well in all the subsequent activities of life, whether civil, professional or political. "Honest Abe" was the sobriquet that people by common consent, had everywhere given him.

Furthermore, it became known, possibly by his own statement, that he never would accept a case from any client unless he knew or felt assured that his cause was meritorious. From this, we can readily observe what a powerful influence he would have over both court and jury in the trial of a case. Any statement by him of law or fact was taken in court as valid without question or controversy.

He trusted the common people, or masses, from whom the jury in that new country was selected, and they in turn loved and trusted him. Little wonder that in a short time, inside a

decade, say, he became one of the greatest jury lawyers in the State. He was frequently called to the large cities, like Rock Island or Chicago, etc., in his own State, to Cincinnati and elsewhere in other States to try important legal cases. Notwithstanding his marked ability and reputation as a trial lawyer, he was always modest in his charges, and thus was in moderate circumstances only, through life.

At one time he had a law partner who was disposed to charge fees for legal services in excess of what Mr. Lincoln deemed just and right. On a given occasion, in the absence of Mr. Lincoln, the partner charged a widow the sum of \$150 for service formerly rendered. Mr. Lincoln, on returning, compelled his partner to refund a part of the fee, stating that it was exorbitant, and that its acceptance would be taking food from the mouths of the half-orphaned children. Other incidents of a similar nature could be named. Five thousand dollars was the highest fee he ever obtained for his legal service in any case. This was obtained from the Illinois Central Railroad Company, for a litigated case, in which Mr. Lincoln was successful in all the lower and intermediate courts up to the Supreme Court of the United States. For the interests involved and the time employed in thus defending the company the fee demanded by Mr. Lincoln was considered a reasonable one, both by himself and his associates at the bar; but he had to sue the corporation to secure his pay. Judge David Davis, before whom Mr. Lincoln practiced so long, once stated that rarely did Mr. Lincoln receive as much as that in the aggregate for a year's service.

The judicial circuit of which David Davis was the presiding judge was a large one. It took many weeks, sometimes months, to make the rounds. Mr. Lincoln and other attorneys would mount their steeds and accompany the judge to the different county seats till the entire circuit was completed. Mr. Lincoln

was the soul and inspiration of the company, on their lonely journey and at the hotels where they lodged during court week.

Lincoln was given to relating mirth-provoking stories both at the hotels and at the court room, when not engaged in the trial of a case. Occasionally he would tell a story or relate an anecdote that would evoke such a demonstration of applause or laughter as to interfere with the peaceable procedure of the court. Judge Davis would turn and rebuke him at times by saying: "Mr. Lincoln, unless you desist from thus interrupting the court, it will be obliged to fine you or adjourn court." Lincoln would subside for a while, but soon another story or anecdote would be forthcoming, and the usual laughter ensue. The clerk of court was excited to prolonged laughter on hearing one of these stories, and was fined \$10 by the judge.

At the close of the court session, Judge Davis asked the clerk what story of Lincoln it was that so pleased him. The clerk replied by reciting the anecdote. The judge was almost convulsed with laughter thereby, and at once remitted the clerk's fine. The latter replied that he was willing to pay the \$10, as it was worth all it would cost.

In the year 1839, or about that time, Mr. Lincoln first met Miss Mary Todd. She was from Lexington, Kentucky, a daughter of the Hon. Robert S. Todd, a leading citizen of the Blue Grass State. Miss Todd at this time was about twenty-one years of age, finely educated, a lady of refinement and culture, with a charming personality, at once attractive and winning.

She came to Springfield to make her home with her eldest sister, Mrs. Edwards, whose husband, the Hon. Ninian W. Edwards, was a colleague of Mr. Lincoln in the State Legislature. He was also a son of Ex-Governor Edwards of Kentucky, who was a United States Senator at one time.

Mr. Joseph H. Barrett, a historian of Lincoln, speaks thus complimentary of her: "She was a lady of unusual personal

attractions and bright, intellectual faculties. She was also of agreeable manners. She was not long without admirers, if she may not have been properly called the 'belle' of the place." The higher and more exclusive circles of her native city to which she belonged were unsurpassed in social refinement and mental culture in any Southern community of the time, west of the Alleghenies. In consequence of these and other accomplishments, the same writer goes on to remark that "Mary Todd was undoubtedly the best suited to win Mr. Lincoln's admiration and a more tender regard." "Abraham Lincoln and His Presidency," Joseph H. Barrett, LL.D. Vol. 1, Page 61-D. Appleton & Company, N. Y., Publishers.)

There was, however, a disparity in their ages, he being in his thirty-first year and she being in her twenty-first. There was also a dissimilarity in their early training and in their social standing, as well as in their mental equipment. Mr. Lincoln became an early suitor (as did Judge Douglas) and waiving these dissimilarities, soon laid siege to her affections. Miss Todd kept him at bay, however, for a long time before she capitulated.

She was finally disposed to waive any objections she may have entertained in consequence of the disparagements of ages, social standing and intellectual attainments between them, and receive his attentions on the basis of his manly worth and the nobility of his character. She recognized the fact that while he was tall and ungainly, he was also kind hearted, modest and amiable. The year following their first introduction, 1840, Mr. Lincoln was completing his fourth term as a member of the Illinois Legislature, and during the summer of the same year he canvassed the State in the interest of General Harrison, who was a candidate of the Whig party for the presidency of the United States. During his eight years of service as a legislator, he had distinguished himself as an eminent law-maker and a most impressive and eloquent public speaker.

The prestige thus obtained was supplemented and enlarged by his great political campaign for Harrison, wherein he was recognized as one of the foremost, if not the foremost, political orator of the Nation.

Miss Todd could not be other than proud and quite proud of her ardent lover. She doubtless thought that a man so young and occupying a position so commanding, would probably attain to positions still higher and possibly become President of the United States. This thought cropped out a year or so later, when, subsequent to their engagement, she wrote to a girl friend and mentioned some of the defects of her intended, and added: "But I mean to make him President of the United States. You will see as I always told you, I will yet be the President's wife." You will infer that after a somewhat protracted acquaintance and courtship, Mr. Lincoln and Miss Mary Todd became engaged. But it often happens that "the course of true love never runs smooth." Before the day was set for the wedding, for some unknown and unaccountable reason, the engagement was broken. It was thought by some that a serious illness of Mr. Lincoln or a sad mental depression (with which he had formerly been affected) was the cause of the sudden alienation.

Considering the standing of the high contracting parties, the news of the disengagement must have created in the capital city quite a sensation. This, in the mind of the writer, need not necessarily have been so; for often lovers' quarrels and pre-nuptial misunderstandings occur, and that "in the best of families."

In a few months, Mr. Lincoln "became himself" again, mutual friendship and love were restored, the engagement renewed, and on November fourth, 1842, their happy marriage occurred. So far as is known, they lived a joyous and happy life ever after. In a few months, he wrote to his old friend,

Joshua T. Speed, of Louisville, Kentucky, saying that, "We are not keeping house,^o but boarding at the Globe Tavern, Springfield, which is very well kept now by a widow lady. Our rooms are the same as Dr. Wallace occupied there, and boarding only costs four dollars a week for us both. I most heartily wish you and your family will not fail to come, and we will all be merry together for a while."

Mrs. Lincoln sympathized and aided her husband in his struggles for advancement in law and for his political promotion in subsequent years.

Col. Alex K. McClure, in writing concerning her, says: "She was gifted with a rare insight into the motives that actuate mankind, and there is no doubt that Lincoln's success was, in a measure, attributable to her acuteness and the stimulus of her influence."

I desire now to make brief mention of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln's family. I draw wholly from my memory and may not be quite accurate in some of the details. But in the main, I feel satisfied that I am correct.

To Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln there were born four sons, Robert T., Edward, Willie and Thomas, called Tad. Robert died recently. Edward died at Springfield before Mr. Lincoln was elected to the presidency. Willie died at the White House, in the early days of the war. This nearly crushed the heart of the noble President. "Tad," the youngest, and the idol and solace of his father during the dark days of the war, died at the age of 18, at his brother Robert's home in Chicago. Robert Lincoln was a man of respectable scholastic and legal attainments, but never possessed the native ability of his father. He was a fair public speaker, only; while Lincoln the elder stood without a peer scarcely in all the domain of political and forensic oratory in America. Peace to his ashes and memory.

Robert married the charming and cultured daughter of

Senator and Mrs. Harlan of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. Senator Harlan was in Lincoln's cabinet at one time. There, Robert met and wooed his brilliant lady. To this union, one son, Abraham, and three daughters, I believe, were born. Incidentally, I might say that Mary Harlan Lincoln was a friend and college mate of Mrs. Hart, my wife, when they were both students at the Mt. Pleasant University, way back in the sixties.

With the death of Robert Lincoln, and it is a sad thought, the last lineal male descendant of the great President has gone.

Robert Lincoln attained public distinction early, largely through his father's prestige. He was a member of President Garfield's cabinet, and afterwards was minister at the Court of St. James. He served as president of the great Pullman corporation of Chicago. He evidently deemed a rich salaried position preferable to the financial uncertainties of a political career. While in London his dear, loving boy, his own and the Nation's pride, departed this life. All people of this great Republic, as well as his parents, felt they were in the shadow of this great sorrow, knowing full well that soon no one would be left to perpetuate the name and fame of the great Emancipator.

Former mention has been made concerning the nomination of General Harrison for the presidency on the Whig ticket and Mr. Lincoln's participation therein. This was in 1840.

Early in the year there seemed a possibility of electing him, and this stimulated activity among members of the Whig party, even in states where the party was largely in the minority.

The Democratic party, whose presidential candidate was Martin Van Buren, taunted the Whigs as being a party of "Log cabins and hard cider," because General Harrison had lived in a log cabin and was very fond of hard cider. The taunts and sneers proved to be a boomerang to the Van Buren party, for

it certainly recoiled on them to their great disadvantage as the campaign proceeded.

Abraham Lincoln was nominated for presidential elector, and threw himself into the canvass with all the ardor and ability at his command. In whatever city, town or hamlet he went, vast crowds attended his meetings, for his reputation as a distinguished platform orator had preceded him. The rank and file of the Whig party had adopted the slogan, "Hard cider and log cabin" (hurled at them contemptuously by their opponents) and used it to the great discomfiture of their enemies. They came to these Lincoln meetings in great throngs, bearing in their wagons and prairie schooners, miniature log cabins and thousands of kegs of hard cider. This beverage had an exhilarating and happy effect on the vast numbers attending, especially on the Democrats themselves, who came in great numbers to have their native thirst for the "ardent" quenched. This was productive of the desired results; for probably enough Democrats were won over to the Whig party in many states to give the electoral vote to Harrison. General Harrison won his election that fall, and Lincoln contributed a very important part in securing the happy result. Lincoln rejoiced greatly over the triumph of the Whig party, knowing that it would give prestige and standing to the party in many states, and especially to his own state. This proved true, as it aided the election of a Whig friend of Lincoln to Congress that fall, as I recall, and very much aided Mr. Lincoln himself, in his aspirations for Congress, which were realized a few years later.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPAIGNS AND DOUGLAS DEBATES

DURING the interval between great political campaigns, Mr. Lincoln devoted his time and energy to the successful practice of the law. He had always entertained a high regard and admiration for Henry Clay of Kentucky, and when he was nominated for President by the Whig party in 1844, he threw himself into the Clay campaign with all the ardor and ability of former years. This year (1844) Lincoln was a presidential elector, as he was in the "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" campaign of 1840. He spoke extensively in his own state and also in the State of Indiana. One of his appointments was near Gentryville, the scene of his boyhood and early manhood days.

He delivered an address at the old Carter school house, where he had formerly attended school and where he met many friends of his earlier days. This was a source of great pleasure to him. He was entertained by Josiah Crawford who, I believe, had purchased the old homestead from Thomas Lincoln some twelve or fourteen years before. Lincoln took great delight in pointing out the various objects of interest with which he was familiar in his boyhood days, the old swimming pool, the mill, the grocery store, the blacksmith shop, and the places where he had worked as a day laborer. His old neighbors and friends were surprised as well as delighted at the accuracy with which he pointed out "every fond object, his infancy knew."

Afterwards, his pent-up emotions found expression through his pen in verses, the first stanza of which is as follows:

“My childhood’s hope, I see again,
And sadden with the view;
And still, as memory crowds the brain,
There’s pleasure in it too.”

The merit of Mr. Lincoln’s poetry did not keep pace with that of his oratory; for is it not somewhere written, that a “*Poeta nascetur, non fit*,” or words to that effect? It has been fifty-five years since I studied Latin, and I may be a little rusty. However, it may be truthfully said that Abraham Lincoln was “a born orator,” if not a born poet.

Neither Mr. Lincoln’s oratory, as shown in his great political addresses, nor that of Mr. Clay, himself, could save the day.

In the fall of 1844, Clay and the Whig party went to defeat after one of the most exciting political campaigns that ever occurred in the United States. His political activity, notably his opposition to the admission of Texas, or rather the annexation of Texas, to the United States, was the direct cause, or occasion, of his defeat, as was thought by many.

For nearly forty years Clay was active and eminent in constructive legislation, in statesmanship and diplomacy, and now to be suppressed by his countrymen, whom he had loved and served so well, nearly crushed his proud spirit. He had been three times nominated for the presidency, in ’24, ’32 and ’44, and as many times defeated, and now, to him, there seemed little left in life worth living for, and he practically retired from public life. However, in ’49, he consented to resume his seat in the Senate to help settle the contest between the slaveholding and anti-slavery parties on the California and territorial questions. The labor and excitement incident to the solving of these great problems exhausted his already enfeebled constitution, and in 1852 he went to his grave.

Continuing my digression a little farther, I desire to say

that the public career of James G. Blaine was somewhat similar and ran parallel to that of Henry Clay.

Mr. Blaine was an eminent statesman of the last half of the past century. He was a distinguished and active participant in all the legislative enactments and activities of the Civil War; was a warm supporter of Mr. Lincoln and his administration during all the dark years of the great rebellion, and was a wise counsellor and safe legislator during the weary years of reconstruction. He was in both branches of the National Congress for a period of twenty years, and was twice Secretary of State. Like Henry Clay, he was three times a candidate for the nomination for President of the United States, in '76, '80 and '84. The last time (in '84) he was successful in his nomination, but was defeated at the fall election. This was a great, great disappointment to Mr. Blaine and his numerous friends. No one anticipated such a result. No Republican since the days of Lincoln was held in higher esteem or had a greater following than Senator Blaine. Like Clay, he was regarded a great commoner and a statesman of the first rank; but like Clay, he went to his grave in the shadow of a great disappointment.

Both had in anticipation the presidential chair and White House as their final goal, and both realized the significance (sad though it be) of the poem, which declares:

“The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth 'ere gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour;
The path of glory leads but to the grave.”

Returning now to the narrative of Mr. Lincoln, I would say that owing to his prestige and reputation as a lawyer, legislator and political orator, he would be and should be a can-

didate for Congress at the ensuing congressional convention, that of 1842. But as an old-time friend, Edward D. Baker, was a candidate for the same position that year, he graciously waived his desire and ambition for the place, and supported him. He did a similar thing for General Hardin in '44. Both of the above named aspirants were elected in Congress, and largely so through the great influence and support of Mr. Lincoln. In 1846, both Mr. Lincoln and General Hardin were candidates for Congress, but the General finally withdrew his candidacy, and in a manly and generous letter, agreed to support Mr. Lincoln. This friendly and reciprocal act of General Hardin was warmly approved by the Whigs of the district.

All conceded that "both men were so much loved that a break between them would have been a disastrous thing for the party." In May, Mr. Lincoln received the nomination.

The Democrats put up old Peter Cartright, an eccentric Methodist preacher, though of marked ability, as their nominee. They went on the assumption that inasmuch as old Peter had defeated young Lincoln in 1832, just after his return from the Black Hawk War, when they were both candidates for the Legislature, that he could do it again. In this instance, "they reckoned without their host." They evidently forgot that back in '32, Lincoln was scarcely known outside the small town of New Salem, while in '46, fourteen years thereafter, his name was a household word in nearly every city, town and hamlet in the state. During these years he had become easily the foremost statesman in the great commonwealth of Illinois. Thus we see that Rev. Mr. Cartright, while possessing local fame, was in no condition to cope with this giant debater and politician.

Generous and tolerant to his adversaries as always was Lincoln, he was not without the innuendoes and misrepresentations that generally attach to the name of a political leader

during the heat of a campaign. I listened intently to a great political address he once delivered (reference to which I will make later) and during the hour and one-half consumed in its delivery, I never heard him speak an unkind word against any or all who opposed him. He was generous to a fault in any allusion he might make to an opponent or to the position he was taking. However, at times, he would so attack a man's public record, especially his legislative record (which was public property) as to sweep from under him the very ground on which he was standing, politically.

Referring now to the aforesaid congressional campaign, suffice it to say that at the ensuing election, he was elected by a handsome majority, and soon entered upon his duties as a Congressman. During the first session of his term he made three carefully prepared addresses, it is said, and it is but reasonable to suppose that he was listened to with marked attention during their delivery. His reputation, like that of Henry Clay in former years, as an orator, had preceded him to the National Capital. His attitude on the slavery question was what you naturally would expect it to be.

He threw the weight of his great ability and influence against its further extension, and introduced a bill to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia, where it then existed, strange as it may now appear. His bill, however, provided for proper compensation to the owners of these human chattels, thus to be liberated.

Describing and denouncing the barbarism of slavery, especially at the capital of the nation, Mr. Lincoln used these graphic words: "In view from the windows of the capitol, a sort of negro livery stable existed, where droves of negroes were collected, temporarily kept, and finally taken to Southern markets, precisely like droves of horses." He thought it horrible that human beings should be kept in bondage right under

the dome of the capitol and no protestation be made. He did not think it wise nor lawful to interfere with slavery in states where it already existed (as will be noted further on) but the power of Congress in the District of Columbia being supreme, it should proceed at once, as he thought, to abolish it. The pro-slavery sentiment in Congress at that time was so strong that Mr. Lincoln's bill, wise in its inception and beneficent in its import, never was allowed to be reported. Mr. Lincoln evidently thought as he returned to his home city, at the end of his term, that his efforts for the liberation of the black man had been of little worth.

Mr. Lincoln was a man of brave heart, but brave as he was a tinge of sadness must have possessed him when he found that his first attempt to lighten the burden of the bond man was opposed by all, and that he stood alone. Yet he was not alone, for his Lord was with him; for is it not true that God and one constitute a majority, always? The slave oligarchy at Washington evidently concluded that by refusing to introduce and engross the Lincoln bill they would effectually suppress the fanatic and agitator from Illinois, and bury him and his cause deep, beyond the power of resurrection. But such was not the case. For

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers,
But error falling, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers."

The proposition that slavery was a divine institution was shot through and through a thousand times, a few years later, the last ball being fired from Appomattox. Best of all, this despised Lincoln directed the shooting, and that from the White House at Washington. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small."

Mr. Lincoln, while in Congress, was strenuously opposed to the Mexican War and its prosecution. He claimed, and justly so, in the minds of many, that there was no just cause for the war, and the vast expenditure of treasure and blood involved thereby should be avoided. The Democratic party and its President, James K. Polk, who had precipitated the war, censured Mr. Lincoln severely for the position he had taken, but the whole Whig party and many others warmly sustained him in his opposition.

Notwithstanding his hostility to the war, whenever a measure was introduced in Congress providing for the support and equipment of the men in the field, he gave it his hearty endorsement. I think, by the consensus of public opinion during and since that war, Mr. Lincoln has been fully sustained. A noted writer, in speaking of the Mexican War, states: "The whole Whig party denounced it at the time, and the whole nation has been more than half ashamed of it ever since." President Polk thought doubtless that he would gain prestige for his administration by declaring war against a nation, weak and friendly though it was, and simply for a fancied wrong. The same writer (above alluded to) states that, "By adroit maneuvers, Polk had forced a fight upon a weak and reluctant nation, and had made to his own people false statements as to both the facts and the merits of the quarrel." I merely recite these facts to show that Mr. Lincoln was fully exonerated from any charge as to any false or unworthy motive he may have entertained in regard to that war. I wish to speak further regarding the result or outcome of that war, for my young readers especially, though it may not be exactly germane to a biographical sketch of Mr. Lincoln.

At the time of the outbreak of the war, Texas had severed its connection with Mexico and had been admitted into our Union as a sovereign state. A difference of opinion as to the

western boundary of Texas had arisen between the United States and Mexico. This could and should have been adjusted by treaty or other peaceable procedure if proper diplomacy had been exercised. But, no. In the mind of the President, the little nation south of the Rio Grande must be humiliated, and Polk thought the United States was the proper party to do the job. The conflict was of short duration, as all know, and the feeble folk down there sued for peace. The President and his cabinet rejoiced in the glorious consummation, and the United States became then and there, forsooth, in the mind of the executive, one of the great powers, if not the greatest, on earth.

By the treaty which ensued we gained California and several adjacent states, but Mr. Lincoln maintained and so do others, that, in all human probability, the same objects could have been attained without such loss of life and treasure. The subjugation or conquest of a nation for the acquisition of territory as a goal is as reprehensible as it is unjust. Presumably one-half the amount of money necessary to prosecute the war to a finish would have sufficed to purchase the territory above named, and thus avoided the shedding of blood. I heard of a man once, "who preferred to lie on time, than to tell the truth for cash." Some rulers prefer to precipitate a war than adjust existing difficulties by peaceable arbitration or by the payment of money. Not always so, for in 1803 Thomas Jefferson, being President of the United States, purchased from France, for a consideration of \$15,000,000, the vast territory, known as the Northwest Territory, including many of the great states of the central Union. This is known in history as the "Louisiana Purchase." Again, in 1867, the United States purchased, through William H. Seward, Secretary of State, for the sum of \$7,200,000, from Russia, the rich territory known as Alaska. And all this by peaceable measures, without the shedding of a

drop of blood. Truly, "Peace hath its victories no less renowned than war."

In a republican form of government, such as ours, where authority or sovereignty vests in the people and is exercised by their chosen representatives, "governors derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Barring constitutional prohibitions or barriers, Presidents and Congressmen would be included under the word "governors." If this be true, it necessarily follows that there could not, nor would be, any declaration of war, except to "suppress insurrections and repel invasions" without the affirmative, majority vote of the people. And if such declaration were postponed till such a vote of the masses, who do the fighting was secured, our nation would grow hoary-headed many times over before any war would be precipitated. The time has past, in my judgment, when the citizens of this great republic will consent or permit their sons, the pride and flower of the nation, to become, at the dictation of Washington officials, food for the cannon's mouth or victims of the deadly gas pits. The Federal Constitution should be so revised that our Presidents and members of Congress would be our servants and not our masters. Let this suffice.

Resuming the Lincoln narrative, it is quite reasonable to presume that Mr. Lincoln's retirement from Congress, or his work while in Congress, rather, was a source of satisfaction and not of regret. He certainly could rejoice in the consciousness of work well begun, if not well done. He possessed convictions, and had what no previous Congressman ever had, if my memory serves me right, the courage of his convictions to introduce a bill looking towards the limitation or non-extension of slavery, if not to its entire abolition. His introduction of a bill to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia was deemed by him, doubtless, as an entering wedge or initial

effort which ultimately would overthrow the entire diabolical system. The opposition he encountered by a united Congress did not dampen his zeal or cool his ardor, but stimulated him to additional activities, as future years disclosed.

It has always been a surprise to this writer that such distinguished men as Hon. Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, George W. Julian of Indiana, and other noted anti-slavery men, then in Congress, should so ignore Mr. Lincoln, in doing what they approved but did not have the courage to undertake themselves.

This was not Mr. Lincoln's first effort to limit or curb the aggressions of the slave-holding power by appropriate legislation or by the enactment of resolutions strongly condemning the system. Some ten years prior to this event, when Mr. Lincoln was a member of the Illinois Legislature, pro-slavery resolutions of the most violent character were introduced and carried by majorities that were almost unanimous. These were opposed by Mr. Lincoln with all the ability and influence he could command.

Lincoln well knew that any opposition or protestation on his part to these and similar resolutions would jeopardize his popularity in the Legislature and among his constituents at home, but with undaunted courage he proceeded to introduce counter resolutions, declaring the whole system of slavery to be barbarous, and "founded on injustice and bad policy." Of all the members of the House, comprising over one hundred, only one, Dan Stone, had the courage to join him in the support of the resolution.

I merely cite these instances to show the almost insurmountable difficulties that confronted Lincoln at every turn in his effort to ameliorate the condition of the bond man.

Slavery had become so entrenched and safeguarded by the approval of society, by the customs of the people and by the laws of the land, that to oppose it meant ostracism, alienation

and sometimes death. The enactment by Congress in 1821 of a measure known as the Missouri Compromise, by means of which Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave state, gave character and standing to the system of slavery, both South and North, to an extent previously unknown. By this act Congress, the legislative body of the nation and exponent of public sentiment, gave the stamp of its unqualified approval on both the existence and perpetuity of slavery. However, the measure gave a little anti-slavery sop to the people of the North by providing in the same enactment that slavery should not extend to territory north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes north latitude (north of the Ohio River, say) and territory west of Missouri. This created great exultation among the people of the South, for it bound the shackles of slavery on the limbs of the black man stronger than ever, and made, as they supposed, the diabolical system perpetual.

The intelligent reader of today would naturally conclude that the system of human slavery, such as existed in the South, (characterized by John Wesley "as the sun of all villainies") and extending its pernicious influence into all homes and through all society in the North, as well as South, would receive its just condemnation by all good people everywhere. But such was not the case. Following the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the people of the North, by their votes, not only tolerated slavery in the South, but actually approved it by their representatives in Congress who voted for its further extension.

How true and how sad is the poetic declaration of Pope, in saying:

"Vice (slavery) is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

The almost universal domination of slavery sentiment in Northern states as well as South during the first half of the past century will remain the surprise of the ages. It pervaded all classes and conditions of society. Not even the clergy, who were supposed to be exemplars and exponents of everything pure and noble and of good report, were exempt from its influence. This was illustrated, and surprisingly so, by the vote of the resident clergymen of Springfield, Ill., in the fall of 1858 when Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas were standing for the United States senatorship in that state.

On the day prior to the election a straw vote was taken of the people in the city of Springfield, to ascertain, if possible, the sentiment of the community as to the merit of the two candidates. There were twenty-three clergymen in the city who thus cast their vote, as I understand. And what was the result? Hear, oh hear; for some of you will weep: Twenty of the number, as I understand, voted for Judge Douglas, and three, just three, voted for Abraham Lincoln. That is to say, twenty voted for the extension of slavery, for Judge Douglas stood for that, and three voted for its limitation and non-extension, for that was what the noble Lincoln stood for. Let us be charitable and presume (as it is to be hoped) that some of the Douglas clergymen were anti-slavery men, but were cowed into silence by the domination of their pro-slavery parishioners. Such was the case in most of our churches. Old Parson Brownlow of Knoxville, Tenn., was made of different stuff. Read up his history. It will do you good.

In 1850 Congress enacted a very reprehensible measure, known as the fugitive slave law, entailing as it did, untold cruelties on the enslaved race, as indicated below.

In 1854 Congress enacted another measure, through the influence of Senator Douglas, adding insult to injury, and as merciless and inhuman as the former, known as the Kansas and

Nebraska bill. This bill repealed the existing and long established law, known as the Missouri Compromise. This law was enacted back in 1820-21, when Missouri was admitted into the Union. After much opposition and prolonged controversy, from the people of the North, the state was admitted as a slave state, through the influence of Henry Clay, but only through a compromise. Hence the name, "Missouri Compromise." This compromise provided that thereafter slavery should be excluded from all territory north of 36° 30', north latitude, and west of Missouri. The repeal of this "compromise" in '54 worked havoc to the black man and strengthened and enlarged the area of the slave traffic. It opened the floodgates of slavery and made its existence possible in newly acquired territory and in Northern states as well, if their constitutions would ever permit. I have spoken of this previously, but it will bear repetition. These measures wrought a marvelous and radical change in the minds of Northern people on the question of human slavery.

Under the operation of the fugitive-slave law, the inhuman and relentless cruelties inflicted on the poor black man, when arrested, in his possible flight for freedom, were almost beyond human conception. Also, on any man in a free state who would give aid or protection to the fleeing bond man, a heavy fine and imprisonment would be imposed. Moreover, the fleet-footed, savage, bellowing hounds from the Southern plantations would be brought into requisition to more effectually secure the return to bondage of the escaping refugee. Fortunate indeed would be the poor fellow if he escaped the gnashing wounds so often inflicted by the bloody hounds.

All these measures tended to arouse public indignation and protest at the increasing barbarities and aggressions of slavery. They also served to unite the people of the North in a deathless effort and struggle to prevent its further extension.

Probably no act of Congress had ever created such excitement, such opposition, such protest, such indignation and lashed the public mind of the West and Northwest into such a state of fury and commotion as the enactment of the said Kansas and Nebraska bill.

There was a clause in the bill repealing the Missouri Compromise, as aforesaid, under the operation of which, the slaveholders could, as they proceeded to do, take their slaves into these territories. They were aided by the administration of President Franklin Pierce, and were striving to convert Kansas and Nebraska into slave states.

The purpose of these invaders was to create pro-slavery sentiment in the above named territories and colonize there sufficient voters to carry the states for slavery when they should seek admission into the Union. In the spring of 1856 actual war was precipitated in the city of Lawrence, Kansas, when the Missouri ruffians, as they were called, invaded and pillaged the homes of the free-state men, killed their occupants, burned their houses, destroyed their printing presses, stole their horses and cattle and carried off their goods. This was what incipient slavery was doing for "Bleeding Kansas." I was then a citizen of the state of Illinois, and recall as though it were but yesterday, the intense excitement created by the war news of the West.

A company of military men was quickly mobilized and started for the seat of war, but trouble had subsided when they arrived.

I write thus at length, in order that my young readers, especially high school and college students, for whom, largely, this biography is written, may learn of the stirring events that characterized the history of our great country about the middle of the last century and some years previous thereto. Writers of history seldom make extended reference to many momentous

events that an ardent student of history should know. I write largely from memory, and can recall vividly and accurately, I think, nearly every important incident and event that has occurred in our republic during the past seventy or more years. My readers shall have the benefit of these reminiscences, as thus outlined. The above half-dozen sentences being explanatory, I will now proceed with the Lincoln narrative.

At the conclusion of Mr. Lincoln's services in the Thirtieth Congress (1848), he returned to Springfield and resumed his law practice. This he pursued with great assiduity for the ten years following, when he engaged in a series of memorable debates with the "little giant," Douglas, reference to which is made later. In the meantime, his services as a political orator were in great demand, especially during the three intervening presidential campaigns.

In 1848 he was an ardent supporter of Gen. Zachary Taylor for President. In July of this year he made a vigorous speech on the floor of Congress for old "Rough and Ready," as Lincoln called Taylor, and during the summer campaign he made numerous and effective speeches in New England and elsewhere which contributed much towards the nomination and election of General Taylor. The same interest and ardor was manifested by him in the campaign of '52 for the Whig Presidential candidate.

In 1856 the Republican party was formed, and in the same year General John C. Fremont became its first candidate for President. Mr. Lincoln, who had joined the new party, as had nearly all the Whigs, and many conservative Democrats, became a tower of strength in the newly organized party, and poured out his very soul in his devotion and support of the candidate of his choice.

General Fremont, as all know, was not successful. However, such states as gave him their electoral votes were won largely by Mr. Lincoln's great campaign ability.

While the Republican party at large had been previously organized, the party had not been organized in the State of Illinois till May 29, 1856, when the first Republican convention of the state assembled at Bloomington. "It was composed of Abolitionists, Free-soil Whigs and Anti-Nebraska Democrats." Abraham Lincoln was present as a delegate from Illinois; and after the preliminary work of the convention was over and a few short speeches were made by others, Mr. Lincoln was called to the platform and delivered a most eloquent address. Some claim it was the supreme, outstanding address of his life. It was called "Lincoln's Lost Speech" because the reporters were so electrified and carried away by the eloquence of the orator that no notes were taken and no reports made to their papers.

Mr. Joseph Medill, then a reporter, afterwards the editor of the Chicago Tribune, was present as a delegate. Many years afterwards he wrote out his impressions of the speech for publication in McClure's Magazine. It was in part as follows: "No one was expecting a great speech at the time. We all knew that he could say something worthy of the occasion, but no one anticipated such an outburst of Demosthenian oratory. There was great political excitement in Illinois at the time and all over the Northwest, growing out of the efforts of the South to introduce slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. The free-soil men were highly wrought up in opposition and Mr. Lincoln partook of their feelings." Mr. Medill proceeds to describe the man and the scene. He says: "He came forward (meaning Lincoln) and took the platform beside the presiding officer. At first his voice was shrill and hesitating. There was a curious introspective look in his eyes, which lasted for a few moments. Then his voice began to move steadily and smoothly forward, and the modulations were under perfect control from thenceforward to the finish. He warmed up as

he went on, and spoke more rapidly; he looked a foot taller as he straightened himself to his full height, and his eyes flashed fire; his countenance became wrapped in intense emotion; he rushed along like a thunderstorm. He prophesied war as the outcome of these aggressions, and poured forth hot denunciations upon the slave power."

"The convention," Mr. Medill continues, "was kept in an uproar, applauding and cheering and stamping; and this reacted on the speaker, and gave him a tongue of fire. The thrilling scene in that old Bloomington hall forty years ago arises in my mind as vividly as the day after its enactment. There stood Lincoln in the front, erect, tall and majestic in appearance, hurling thunderbolts at the foes of freedom, while the great convention roared its indorsement. I never witnessed such a scene before or since. As he described the aims and aggressions of the unspeakable slave-holders and the servility of their Northern allies as illustrated by the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise two years previously, and their grasping after the rich prairies of Kansas and Nebraska, to blight them with slavery and to deprive free labor of this rich inheritance, and exhorted the friend of freedom to resist them to the death, the convention went fairly wild. It paralleled or exceeded the scene in the Revolutionary, Virginia convention of eighty-one years before, when Patrick Henry invoked death if liberty could not be preserved."

He continues further by saying: "I did make a few paragraphs of report (for the Chicago Tribune) of what Lincoln said in the first eight or ten minutes; but I became so absorbed in his magnetic oratory that I forgot myself and ceased to take notes, and joined with the convention in cheering and stamping and clapping to the end of his speech."

Thus Mr. Medill continued in an eloquent description of the most eloquent address, but I will not further prolong or

extend these quotations, inspiring and beautiful though they be.

I think it may be truthfully said that Mr. Lincoln's address on this occasion—in point of brilliancy, of thought, in forceful, logical presentation of the facts involved, finds no parallel, or scarcely a parallel, in all the domain of forensic oratory. Daniel Webster's reply to Senator Haynes of South Carolina, on the subject of "State Rights," may be a single exception.

This great address of Mr. Lincoln was lost to the world for many years, but it was finally ascertained that a young lawyer by the name of H. C. Whitney, a friend of Mr. Lincoln, was present at the convention and took extended notes of the address which he later reproduced.

The world—especially the literary world—has been placed under lasting obligation to Mr. Whitney for the reproduction of that matchless, inspiring address to Mr. Lincoln, for without his thoughtfulness and ability as well, to take prolonged and accurate notes of the charming and eloquent speech, it would have been lost forever to an admiring world. Others lost their heads and were swept from their feet in the oratorical tornado above described, but young Whitney retained and maintained his equilibrium, and all mankind are now his debtors. Mr. Medill and others to whom the report has been submitted bear willing and cheerful testimony to the fact that it is a most accurate and satisfactory reproduction of the great speech they had the pleasure of hearing.

Mr. Lincoln was requested to write out his speech for campaign purposes, but he declared that "it would be impossible for him to recall the language he used on that occasion, as he had spoken under some excitement." He used a very mild term (excitement) for if ever man spoke "with the tongue of men and angels," Mr. Lincoln did that day. He labored under almost superhuman pressure and great mental grief. He alluded in his speech to the recent murder of a score or

more of free-soil men at Lawrence, Kansas, by the Missouri border ruffians; he also spoke of the brutal attack of Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, wherein he was beaten into insensibility by a bludgeon in the hands of Preston Brooks of South Carolina. He further stated that while he, Lincoln, was speaking, Senator Sumner was dying in Washington. These statements created a wonderful sensation and almost paralyzed the audience. It should be said that after four years of intense pain and suffering on the part of Mr. Sumner, he regained his health and was returned to the United States Senate at Washington.

In his address Mr. Lincoln may have had in mind the sad fate of Mr. E. P. Lovejoy of Alton, Ill., brother of Owen Lovejoy, the statesman, whose printing press was four times destroyed and he himself finally killed by slave-holder residents. Or he may have thought, while delivering his speech, of William Lloyd Garrison, whose body was drawn through Boston by a slavery mob.

Little wonder that Mr. Lincoln, having in mind these acts of barbarism, ever remaining as foul blots on the pages of American history, was unable to recall the words he used, strong and pungent as they were, on that noted occasion. But the impression they made and are making on the minds of men will remain imperishable as long as time and memory endure.

The year 1858 will always be noted in American history as the year in which a series of debates was inaugurated in the State of Illinois between two eminent statesmen, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. I think it may be safely stated that in point of the distinguished ability of the participants and the momentous national questions involved, the like of these debates was never before nor since witnessed in this great republic.

On June 16, of this year at Springfield, Abraham Lincoln

received the unanimous nomination of the Republican party for the United States Senate as the successor of Judge Douglas. Mr. Douglas was a distinguished orator of national and international repute, and was busy this year in canvassing the state in support of his recently enacted Congressional measures, known, as before stated, as the Kansas and Nebraska bill, involving the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Horace Greeley, in his great work, states that Mr. Lincoln at the said Republican convention, "opened the canvass at once in a terse, forcible and thoroughly radical speech, wherein he enunciated the startling, if not the absolutely novel doctrine, that THE UNION CANNOT PERMANENTLY ENDURE HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE. A house divided against itself cannot stand." It seems that Governor Seward of New York, several months after this, gave expression of like premonition of coming events, by saying, according to Mr. Greeley: "Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether."

The Governor continued: "*It is an irrepressible conflict* between opposing and enduring forces; and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slave-holding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation."

This unanimity of sentiment regarding the resultant tendency of slavery by two persons so far apart and at different times, seems quite remarkable as well as prophetic.

In a few weeks following his nomination to the Senate, Mr. Lincoln attended large Democratic gatherings at Chicago and elsewhere, unbeknown to Mr. Douglas, and listened with painful ears to the pernicious, pro-slavery proclamations of the "young giant." Lincoln saw at once that such misleading statements should not go unheeded or unchallenged, and sent a message to Mr. Douglas challenging him to a joint discus-

sion. Mr. Lincoln thought that by this method he would minimize if not utterly destroy the great influence that Mr. Douglas might otherwise have on the people. In this he was successful, if a majority of the popular vote at the fall election was a correct index of the sentiment of the people.

Judge Douglas received and accepted the challenge readily, and sent an affirmative reply to Mr. Lincoln. He doubtless thought he could soon annihilate his antagonist and bring home his scalp, dangling at his side, as a trophy of his achievement. In this, "he reckoned without his host." "Man proposes," but "a kind Providence disposes."

Hitherto Douglas had held Lincoln in light esteem, as unable and unworthy to measure intellectual swords with his honor. He soon changed his mind. He had seen "a new light."

In speaking of the debate, Douglas remarked that while Lincoln was comparatively unknown, "if he gets the best of this debate, and I want to say he is the ablest man the Republicans have got, I shall lose everything and Lincoln will gain everything." He further stated: "I have known Lincoln long and well, and I know I shall have anything but an easy task." He added: "He is the strong man of his party, full of wit, facts, dates, and the best stump-speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West. He is as honest as he is shrewd, and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won." I quote from Alonzo Rothchild in his "Lincoln, Master of Men," Page 94. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston.

Mr. Lincoln recognized the difference between himself and his opponent, and reciprocated the good opinion thus expressed, by saying that "Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of the party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful

face, postoffices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle and principle alone." I quote from Miss Ida M. Tarbell's great work on Lincoln, Vol. 1, page 309. (The Macmillan Company, New York, Publishers.)

By mutual consent of the contestants, seven cities were selected in the state, in which the joint debates were to be held. The first one to be at Ottawa, about eighty miles southwest of Chicago, on August 21. The location of the cities where the other six were to be held was so placed in different parts of the state, north and south, that a majority of the people could avail themselves of the opportunity to see and hear these forensic giants. This writer was present at this, the first of the seven memorable debates. An older brother and I walked some twelve or fourteen miles to be present on the noted occasion.

Excitement was at fever heat. Everyone was discussing the possibility of slavery being saddled on poor Kansas and Nebraska, with the added possibility of its extension into Northern States, Illinois included. This latter possibility was only contingent on the supposition that pro-slavery sentiment might become strong enough—in some Northern States—to secure a favorable change in their constitutions, and thus invite or encourage slavery.

Public sentiment seemed to be about evenly divided. Those who believed in the divine right of slavery and its unlimited extension, if the people desired it, sided with Douglas; and

those who opposed the inhuman system and its further extension, sided with Mr. Lincoln.

At the time appointed for the joint debate at Ottawa, there was a vast number in attendance numbering, as was said, 20,000. People came from far and near. There were only a few railroads then in the state, and only one passing through the city. The masses came in all kinds of conveyances, in prairie schooners, wagons, buggies, carts, etc., on horse-back, mule-back, jack-back, ox-back, etc. Thousands came on foot. Some traveled one hundred miles or more, probably. They surrounded the small city like an invading army, many arriving the previous day. They slept under their wagons, in tents, in fence corners, on lawns, in public parks. The few hotels could not accommodate one-tenth of the city's guests. At an early hour the public park in which the services were held was filled to its utmost capacity. At 2 p. m. the renowned orators took their places on the stand, ready for the fray.

It was my good fortune, as formerly stated, to be present on the occasion, and listen to these eminent statesmen. It will remain a source of pleasant recollection as long as life and memory endure. Being a lad, I angled my way through the dense crowd, till I stood right in front of the platform.

By previous arrangement, Judge Douglas was to open the debate with an hour's speech, Mr. Lincoln was to follow with an hour and one-half reply, when Douglas was to close with a half-hour rebuttal. Senator Douglas was the pride of the Democratic party as well as the ablest and most influential member of the United States Senate. It was my good fortune to have heard this eminent statesman on a previous occasion, as I was then a resident of the State of Illinois. The names of these noted men were household words in nearly every home in that great commonwealth.

We lived a few counties north of Springfield (their homes)

during the period of their great political activity, and were familiar with their history.

While differing in mental and physical characteristics they were men who would stamp the impress of their worth and nobility of character on any person or company with whom they would come in contact. The judge was eloquent in speech almost beyond compare, handsome and of fine personality and address, while Mr. Lincoln was tall, homely and unprepossessing. He was less eloquent than his opponent, in the common acceptation of the term, but in public address was strong, forceful, pungent. His masterly presentation of a subject, or defense thereof, was incomparable to that of any man I ever had the pleasure of hearing.

Judge Douglas had secured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in Congress, and also the enactment of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, as before mentioned. By these provisions, the flood-gates of slavery were opened, and permission thereby given whereby the extension of slavery into newly acquired territory was made possible. The same privilege of extending slavery into new states carved from said territories was granted, provided such states should so determine by their votes in framing their constitutions. All this was forbidden under the old Federal law, known as the Missouri Compromise.

Judge Douglas spent the most of the first hour explaining and justifying his position in Congress, touching the above-named legislation; for by his imperious attitude he had alienated many of his hitherto devoted friends of the North. In addition to this he had incurred the deadly enmity of the old Whig party, of which Mr. Lincoln had been the chief exponent and defender. He strangely maintained that slaveholders could take their slaves into these territories (Kansas and Nebraska) and hold them as such, the same as other chattels are held and owned. The same would be true regarding

the introduction of slavery in any Northern State, provided their amended constitutions would so permit.

Douglas contended that owners of slaves in Northern territory should be protected in their rights of ownership till such territories should seek admission into the Union as states. In the latter event, in framing their constitutions, they could "vote slavery up or down" as they chose, and he, Douglas, did not care which they did. This he called "popular sovereignty," dubbed by many as "squatter sovereignty." This contemplated extension of slavery did not appeal to the people, not even to the conservative wing of his own party. Judge Douglas must have known and felt it there and then. It was received with scant approval and no applause.

The learned judge wisely drew his remarks to a close. Before doing so, however, he turned to pay Mr. Lincoln a compliment, a left-handed compliment, which he soon had occasion to regret. He stated that he had long known Mr. Lincoln, and known him to honor him. That while he and Mr. Lincoln were aspiring for positions in old Sangamon County, Illinois, that he, Douglas, was an honorable school teacher, and his friend Lincoln was an honorable grog-shop keeper; that he could spoil more whiskey than any man in town, and the manner in which he would preside at horse and foot races was enough to excite the admiration and win the praise of all who were present and participated. Of course, the Democratic hats and shouts went up.

All eyes were now turned to Mr. Lincoln, who arose to speak. His friends were a little apprehensive, lest he should fail to recover from this sally of wit. Their fears were soon allayed, however. He began by saying that few men liked to hear themselves misrepresented; but when misrepresentation became so gross and perverse as it had on this occasion, it was apt to amuse more than anything else. He did not know, he

stated, that he ever kept a grog-shop as alleged by the Judge, but he did recall that while he kept a store, on one counter of which whiskey was sold, that while he was officiating on one side of the counter, Judge Douglas was on the other and the best customer he had. He further had this to say that while he (Lincoln) had long, long since left his side of the counter, he was sorry to say that up to this very hour, Judge Douglas had not left his side. This rejoinder evoked prolonged applause.

Mr. Lincoln now had his audience and held it closely to the end. Without many preliminaries, he went quickly to the heart of his subject. Judge Douglas was soon put on the defensive and confronted with his own record. Mr. Lincoln propounded many questions as to his vote in Congress and requested an answer, yea or nay, and he could take either horn of the dilemma he chose. No matter which way the Judge answered, it got him in a compromising position. He fairly squirmed under the interrogatory pelting that Lincoln gave him. The great Commoner bitterly assailed the position of Douglas on the extension of slavery into new territories, asserting that as Congress had supreme control over these territories, it possessed the undoubted right to prevent the introduction of slavery therein. This logic is self evident and should be received without controversy.

Mr. Lincoln was not inclined to interfere with the institution of slavery in states where it already existed, but Congress should prevent, with all the power of its command, its further extension. In this position, he was fully indorsed by the great Republican party and many Northern Democrats as well.

Mr. Lincoln then gave expression to that Scriptural declaration which, like the first Revolutionary shot at Bunker Hill, was heard around the world, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." He further stated: "I believe this government

cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it becomes lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Mr. Lincoln then paid his respects to the notorious Dred Scott decision. Chief Justice Taney, representing the Supreme Court, had declared, in substance, that the colored man possessed no rights that the white man was bound to respect.

Dred Scott was a slave and had lived in the North with his master for several years, and then was taken back to Missouri and held in bondage. After his master's death, Scott brought action in court for his freedom, contending justly that after enjoying practical freedom in the North, he could not be held longer in the South as a slave. The case was fought successfully through the lower courts by Mr. Scott's attorney, but his new owner finally appealed to the Supreme Court. The said court on final review reversed the verdict of the lower courts, and announced to the world a decision which has been a hiss and byword, as well as a disgrace to our American jurisprudence ever since, viz: that a colored man, though he be three-fourths white, had no rights that a court of white persons should respect. This decision, coming as it did (in 1856) two years after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was received by the American people with almost universal detestation and abhorrence.

The two measures above indicated fired the minds of the people as nothing before had done, and were prominent factors in precipitating the war which followed a few years after.

Mr. Lincoln showed up this decision in all its enormity and held up its author to the just contempt of an outraged and indignant people. Mr. Lincoln's chastisement or castigation of Judge Taney was most severe, and when he proceeded to flay him up one side and down the other to a finish, it is doubtful if the learned judge would have recognized his physiognomy, had he been present and viewed himself in a mirror.

Thus did Mr. Lincoln continue for an hour and a half, discussing the able and profound questions that were then agitating the minds of the people. The enthusiasm attending his closing address was unbounded, and it was said that 5000 people rushed forward to shake his hand and congratulate him. However, but few could reach his stand, as several seized and threw him over the shoulders of a stalwart, in spite of his cordial protest of "No, no, boys," and bore him to the nearby home of the mayor where he was entertained. It was said that Judge Douglas had but little to say in his half-hour of rebuttal. He floundered around somewhat in mental or political amazement, and after dealing for a while in "glittering generalities," took his seat.

Thus ended the first of a series of debates, the greatest, probably, ever heard on American soil. Mr. Lincoln was the evident victor, if the enthusiasm and plaudits were indications of the popular mind. It was the consensus of public opinion that in the debates of these giants, during the fall campaign, Mr. Lincoln retained his supremacy, and was regarded a debater without a peer in his state.

In the subsequent addresses of Mr. Lincoln, during his presidential campaign, he was placed in the front rank of the foremost orators of the nation, and in the minds of many, was the greatest political orator that ever graced an American platform. At the ensuing fall election for United States Senator, 1858, Mr. Lincoln received a majority vote of nearly 4000

over his rival; yet owing to the adverse, meandering apportionment or reapportionment of the Legislative districts of the state, the Democratic nominees had a small majority, and thus Douglas was elected. Abraham Lincoln asserted in advance of the election, that if Judge Douglas was elected United States Senator that fall, he never would be President of the United States. Future events proved the truthfulness of the prophecy; for, as we all know, the presidential aspiration and nomination of the "little giant" in 1860 ended in defeat, which was the occasion, if not the cause, of the early precipitation of the war—and possibly of the premature death of the great Douglas. He died in June, '61. *Peace be to his ashes.*

Mr. Lincoln took his defeat for the Senatorship complacently, as you would naturally expect of a man having the exalted character that the great statesman possessed. He evidently thought that the good he had accomplished in awaking and educating public sentiment to the fact that the poor black man, held in bondage for 150 or more years, still had a soul, and some rights, civil and constitutional, that the white man and the white man's government should and must respect. This he thought, I imagine, would be sufficient compensation for all the sacrifices made and financial losses sustained during the six months' campaign. As to its effect on his future political prospects, he thought little and cared less.

Mr. Lincoln wrote to a friend, saying, according to Miss Ida M. Tarbell, "I am glad I made the race. It gave me a hearing on the great and double question of the age which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which shall tell for the cause of liberty long after I am gone. ("The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Ida M. Tarbell, Vol. I, Page 323. The Macmillan Company, New York, Publishers.)

Mr. Lincoln was now anxious to get back into the law practice; for the expenses of the long canvass had made heavy inroads in his exchequer and personal income. Lincoln was never wealthy, and at this time was only in moderate financial circumstances. He owned the home at Springfield, in which he resided, and a small amount of personal property. The annual income from his law practice did not exceed \$3000; so we can readily see that he could ill afford, from a financial view, to spend long periods in political campaigns. The great Emancipator felt, doubtless, as did the Apostle Paul, when he said, "Woe be to me if I preach not the Gospel." Aside from any personal emolument or political motive, I believe that Lincoln was always willing to spend and be spent in preaching the gospel of personal liberty and freedom to an enslaved race.

Mr. Lincoln could not be silent, long. In the fall of 1859 he visited Kansas and was received with open arms by its citizens. They hailed him everywhere as their political savior. Vast audiences attended his meetings wherever he spoke. He pleaded eloquently the cause of the black man, and prophesied his complete liberation in that state from the slave-holders' grasp as soon as the people had an opportunity to vote therefor. His noted address in 1858 with Douglas in opposing the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and his subsequent speeches in Kansas were more effective in bringing about the desired result than any and all other agencies combined. Note the result: As soon as a constitutional vote could be taken the party opposing slavery triumphed; a constitution excluding slavery was adopted, and Kansas was admitted as a state, January 29, 1861. The "border ruffians" found it convenient to withdraw, feeling, doubtless, as the sheep-killing dog does when he leaves his scene of slaughter with his caudal appendage hanging down.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

FOLLOWING the great, not to say triumphant, political campaign with Douglas, in '58, Mr. Lincoln was invited to speak in Kansas in '59. Thence he went to Ohio, in the same fall, where, at Columbus and at Cincinnati, he addressed immense audiences. A few months later, namely on February 27, 1860, he delivered his famous address at Cooper Institute, New York City. It was an eye-opener to the citizens of Gotham.

To intelligent people he was known as the distinguished orator who had effectually taken the wind out of the sails of the Democrats' favored son, Judge Douglas, the previous year; but to the masses he was known as "'Abe' Lincoln, the rail-splitter" of Illinois. They evidently concluded that no good thing could come out of that Western Nazareth. But before he had proceeded very far in his address they perceived that no ordinary person was before them.

Many distinguished persons were present, to hear for the first time, possibly, the renowned speaker. The list included the names of William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, David Dudley Field and other noted citizens. Mr. Bryant presided and introduced the speaker with a very complimentary and prophetic statement. He said: "Gentlemen of New York: It is great honor that is conferred upon me tonight, for I can introduce to you the next President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln." ("Personal Glimpses of Celebrated Men and Women," Russell H. Conwell. John C. Winston & Co., Publishers, Philadelphia. Page 354.) Little did he think, perhaps, that less than nine months from that date, his

prophecy would become a reality. At least, during that time, the people of the United States had indicated him as their choice by a very respectable plurality vote, which insured him his election.

This Cooper Institute address was one of the most notable as well as one of the ablest of Mr. Lincoln's life. The speaker's appearance on the stage was, as usual in the beginning, uninviting, and his speech hesitating and awkward. All this was changed in a few minutes, for the charm of diction and forceful, illuminating expression, always characteristic of Mr. Lincoln, soon absorbed and held the attention of the audience to the end. Good old Noah Brooks was present and spoke of Mr. Lincoln as follows: "But pretty soon he began to get into his subject; he straightened up, made regular and graceful gestures; his face lighted as with an inward fire; the whole man was transfigured. I forgot his clothes, his personal appearance, his individualities. Presently forgetting myself, I was on my feet with the rest, yelling like a wild Indian, cheering this wonderful man; in the closing parts of his argument, you could hear the gentle sizzling of the gas burners. When he reached a climax, the thunders of applause were terrific. It was a great speech."

He further states: "When I came out of the hall, my face glowing with excitement and my frame all a-quiver, I remarked to a friend near me, that Abraham Lincoln was the greatest man since St. Paul." ("Abraham Lincoln and the Downfall of Slavery," Noah Brooks. Page 186. Courtesy G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York and London.) I think Mr. Brooks voiced the sentiment of every intelligent auditor present. It was quite plain, as a writer states it, "that Lincoln had captured the metropolis."

He next traveled to New England, and on his way visited his son, Robert, who was attending college at Exeter, N. H.

He spoke at many places in Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The New York papers had given extended publicity of his great speech at the Cooper Institute, and thus his fame had preceded him into the New England states. He was everywhere recognized and received as the "Cicero" of the West; hence the vast numbers that attended to hear his addresses, wherever he spoke. It is not surprising that now, his name and fame having reached from sea to sea, he should be regarded as a man typifying Presidential timber.

On every occasion when his name was mentioned in this connection, in his presence, he was wont to reply: "What's the use of talking of me for the presidency, while we have such men as Seward, Chase and others who are so much better known to the people and whose names are intimately associated with the principles of the Republican party? Everybody knows them, nobody knows me, scarcely, outside of Illinois. Besides, is it not, as a matter of justice, due to such men, who have carried the movement forward to its present status, in spite of fearful opposition, personal abuse, and hard names? I really think so." I quote from Miss Ida M. Tarbell's "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Vol. 1, page 334, The Macmillan Company, N. Y., publishers.

The Republicans of Illinois thought otherwise. Mr. Lincoln was regarded as the "first citizen" of the State, and his friends indulged the hope that he and his State might be honored by his nomination for the presidency at the approaching Chicago convention, and his triumphant election, the following November. In this, they were not disappointed. The Republican party of the State of Illinois held their State convention at Decatur, May 9 and 10, 1860.

Governor Oglesby, being in the convention and spying Mr. Lincoln, who was present as a spectator, arose and said: "I am informed that a distinguished citizen of Illinois, and one

whom Illinois will ever delight to honor, is present; and I wish to move that this body invite him to a seat on the stand." ("Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy," Horatio Alger, Jr. Page 170. Popular Magazine, N. Y., Publishers.) Everyone was on tiptoe to ascertain who this distinguished person was. In a moment or two, the Governor mentioned the name of "Abraham Lincoln." The latter took his place on the platform amid the enthusiastic demonstration of an admiring delegation, and delivered a forceful address, appropriate to the occasion. Before he commenced his address, however, an incident occurred that brought vividly to the minds of the audience the hardships of Mr. Lincoln's early life.

An old man by name of John Hanks (an uncle or cousin of Mr. Lincoln, I think) stood at the door of the Wigwam with a couple of rails on his back that he and Lincoln had made about thirty years before. He was invited in, and his entrance with the rails "was greeted with tumultuous applause," it is stated. These rails were surmounted by a banner, bearing the inscription, "TWO RAILS from a lot made by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks, in the Sangamon Bottom, in the year 1830."

The demonstration attending such a scene can better be imagined than described. If my readers will return to the early pages of this biography they will ascertain that about 1830, Thomas Lincoln and young Abraham left their Indiana home and came to John Hanks, near Decatur (the city of this convention) where these rails were made. The convention having displayed their enthusiasm, resumed their usual routine of business.

Having appointed their delegates to the National convention to be held at Chicago the convention, or a member thereof, introduced a resolution, which was duly passed, declaring that "Abraham Lincoln is the first choice of the Republican

party of Illinois for the presidency, and instructing the delegates to the Chicago convention to use all honorable means to secure his nomination, and to cast the vote of the State as a unit for him." ("Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy," Horatio Alger, Jr. Page 170. Popular Magazine, N. Y., Publishers.)

The Republican convention met in Chicago a week later, May 16, 1860. "Lincoln was at home with his family," says one writer, Joseph H. Barrett, "three days before the meeting of the Republican National convention at Chicago, where the delegates were already gathering. It was a quiet Sunday, the like of which, to him, would never return."

An illustrated New York paper was on the table in the Lincoln home, containing the portraits of the different presidential candidates, including those of Governor Seward and Mr. Lincoln. The portrait of the latter in no way did him justice; and when Mrs. Lincoln examined it she remarked somewhat seriously: "A look at that face is enough to put an end to hope." ("Abraham Lincoln and His Presidency," Joseph H. Barrett, LL.D. Vol 1, Page 216-D. Appleton and Company, N. Y., Publishers.)

When the delegates met in convention at Chicago, at the time named aforesaid, many states had aspiring candidates for the presidential nomination. Missouri was supporting the nomination of Mr. Bates, Ohio favored the nomination of Salmon P. Chase, New York that of Governor Seward, and Illinois, that of Mr. Lincoln. The delegates of the latter not only enthusiastically supported their candidate, but went into the convention with a united and determined effort to secure it.

Up to that hour, Governor Seward was the most pronounced and most expectant candidate to come before the convention. He was or had been, the Governor of the great State of New York, and U. S. Senator, with a record of distinguished service

in the old Whig, now Republican party, in the cause of human freedom and negro emancipation. In addition to this prestige, he came into the convention with seventy votes from his own State, enough, as he thought to secure, with the aid of other pledged delegates, his nomination beyond a peradventure. His friends and delegates were quite vociferous, flushed as they were with anticipated, almost assured, victory. But the delegates and citizens from the Sucker State were not caught napping. On the lip of every Illinois Republican there was but one name, that of Abraham Lincoln.

In the big Wigwam, the same enthusiasm for the great Commoner was manifested. There was in the audience a regular Boanerges in the person of a certain Dr. Ames, who had the lungs and voice of a lion. Mr. Arnold in his life of Lincoln says: "He had a voice sufficiently powerful to be heard above the uproar of the lake in the wildest storm." The doctor was a Democrat, he says, but readily consented to shout for Lincoln. Perhaps a few ducats inspired his enthusiasm. Mr. Arnold goes on to recite that, "With an organized band he was placed at one end of the Wigwam; another body was placed at the opposite end. Mr. Cook of Ottawa, an acquaintance of this writer, a delegate, was upon the platform. Whenever he waved his handkerchief they were to cheer. It was that handkerchief which set the ten thousand Illinoisans in the Wigwam wild with enthusiasm." ("The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Isaac N. Arnold.) ("Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," C. C. Coffin. Page 164. Harper Brothers, New York, Publishers.)

On the third day it was quite evident the balloting would begin and the great Wigwam was early filled, and filled to capacity. Several states had aspiring candidates whose names were presented by different orators, but their presentation occasioned but little enthusiasm. When, however, William M. Evarts, distinguished lawyer of New York city and grandson

of Roger Sherman, signer of the Declaration of Independence, came forward and, in an eloquent address nominated William H. Seward for President, they "greeted his name with a perfect storm of applause," it is stated. When the storm had subsided, Norman B. Judd, who had Mr. Lincoln's interests in hand, placed in nomination the name of Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, "and in the tremendous cheering that broke from the throats of his admirers and followers, the former demonstration dwindled to comparative feebleness," says John G. Nicolay, one of Mr. Lincoln's historians. When order was restored, the chairman announced that balloting would begin. Five or six candidates received the substantial vote of their respective states, but Seward and Lincoln absorbed the interest of the convention.

The counting of the ballots revealed the fact that Governor Seward had received $173\frac{1}{2}$ votes, and Mr. Lincoln had received 102. This first ballot showed that Governor Seward had received quite a majority, an unexpected majority, over Mr. Lincoln. This was accounted for by the fact that New York alone had contributed seventy votes to the Governor's total, while Illinois had no such number to give to Mr. Lincoln. This would indicate that the seeming dissimilarity in the votes of the two candidates was not as great as at first supposed.

The exultation and hopes of the New York delegates sank somewhat when the result of the second ballot was announced. The Governor received $184\frac{1}{2}$, and Mr. Lincoln 181. Mr. Nicolay, from whose account of the convention I quote somewhat freely, states "That a volume of applause, which was with difficulty checked by the chairman, shook the Wigwam at this announcement." The same writer goes on to state that "neither candidate had received a majority of all the votes cast, and the third ballot was begun amid a deep, almost painful suspense, delegates and spectators alike recording each announce-

ment of votes on their tally-sheets with nervous fingers." When the totals were figured up, Lincoln had received 231½, and Governor Seward 180. As 465 votes had been cast, 233 were necessary to a choice. In this ballot Seward had lost four and one-half votes while Lincoln had gained fifty and one-half, and only lacked one and one-half to assure his nomination.

It is said that the Wigwam became "still as a church" and everyone was anxious to learn from what source the needed one and one-half votes would come. Presently a delegate by name of David K. Carter arose and announced a change of four votes from Chase of Ohio to Abraham Lincoln. "A teller shouted the name towards the skylight," says Mr. Nicolay, "and a boom of cannon from the roof of the Wigwam announced the nomination and started the cheering of the overjoyed Illinoisans down the long Chicago streets, while in the Wigwam, delegation after delegation changed its vote to the victor amid the tumult of hurrahs." Mr. Evarts, speaking for New York and its candidate, did the manly thing by moving to make the nomination unanimous. Mr. Browning arose and thanked the convention most gracefully for the honor it had conferred on the State of Illinois.

In the afternoon the work of the convention was completed by the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for Vice-President. During the convention Mr. Lincoln had remained in Springfield entertaining his friends royally, as was his custom, but a little anxious, doubtless, as to the outcome of the Chicago assembly. News finally came that balloting had begun, and one states it, "he could hardly endure to await for the result." Shortly afterwards, while he was conversing with a group of friends, near the telegraph office, a shout went up from the door of the said office, indication that some unusual news had been received, and quickly a boy pushed his way through the crowd, and running up to Mr. Lincoln, cried out:

"Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Lincoln, you are nominated." The news soon reached every part of the city, and his friends flocked around him in large numbers extending the glad hand of congratulations. These he received with expressions of appreciation and modesty; and thinking of the loved one who presided over his household, with a form "more beautiful than was ever carved by Grecian artist from parian marble," he remarked: "My friends, I am glad to receive your congratulations, and as there is a little woman down on Eighth Street who will be glad to hear the news, you must excuse me till I can inform her."

However desirous Mr. Lincoln was to be the first to communicate the good news to his wife, he found on his arrival that others had preceded him, and the "little woman" already "knew the honor which for twenty years or more she had believed and stoutly declared her husband deserved, and which a great multitude of men had sworn to do their best to obtain for him, at last had come." ("The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Ida M. Tarbell. Vol. 1, Page 357. The Macmillan Company, N. Y., Publishers.)

On the morning following the adjournment of the convention, the committee appointed to notify Mr. Lincoln, numbering, including correspondents, about thirty, started for Springfield. It was about nightfall when the train reached the city, and after eight o'clock when the committee reached the home of Mr. Lincoln. The host and hostess received their guests with great cordiality, as would be expected. The chairman of the committee, Mr. Ashmun, stated the action of the convention, and the pleasant duty they were charged to perform, thus apprising him of the distinguished honor that had been conferred on him.

Mr. Lincoln replied briefly and quite felicitously. There was an indescribable charm in his tones, it is said, and a ten-

derness of voice that commanded instant attention and admiration.

The formal services having been concluded, an hour was spent in social converse. Three noble sons were present to enjoy, if not to participate in "the feast of reason and flow of soul" that were to follow. Mrs. Lincoln was a charming and most cultured conversationalist. She was the daughter of a distinguished Kentucky family, and enjoyed in her early days, all the advantages that wealth and position could afford. Mr. Lincoln was gifted with a facility of speech that, when used in relating an anecdote or incident, was delightfully inspiring and entertaining. Thus he was enabled to beautify or embellish a conversation or statement in a way and to an extent that few men possessed. The power of this gifted couple to entertain was brought into immediate requisition, and continued during the hour.

At length the host remarked that Mrs. Lincoln would be pleased to see them in an adjoining room. He further stated that they must be thirsty after their long ride, and that they would find a pitcher of water in the library. The guests found a pitcher of cold water, and glasses, but no wines or liquors, as one writer states it.

In anticipation of the arrival of the informing committee, some friends of Mr. Lincoln had suggested to him the necessity of providing wines and liquors for the occasion. This was promptly refused, or declined, by him. He further stated that he had no liquors in the house, "and that he never had been in the habit of entertaining his friends in that way." That was conclusive. The committee on retiring thought, it is to be hoped, that the beverage to which they had been treated was superior to the choicest wines of the choicest vintage of which they had imbibed or had previous knowledge.

Changing the thought somewhat, I wish to refer to some

phases of the great convention. The defeat of their idol candidate, Governor Seward, must have brought intense disappointment and chagrin to the New York delegates, especially to the "Big Five," Thurlow Weed, who had charge of Governor Seward's affairs; Horace Greeley, the renowned editor of the New York Tribune; William M. Evarts, a grandson of Roger Sherman, of Revolutionary fame; David W. Field, an eminent New York lawyer, and brother of Cyrus Field, of oceanic cable fame, and of Stephen Field, judge of the United States Supreme Court; and William Cullen Bryant, editor of the New York Evening Post.

C. C. Coffin, in writing of the convention, says: "During the convention I chanced to sit at a table with Thurlow Weed, and had an excellent opportunity to study his face. I doubt if during his long and eventful life he ever experienced a greater disappointment or a keener sorrow. I saw him press his fingers hard upon his eyelids to keep his tears down. His plans all miscarried. It was the sinking of a great hope. The rail-splitter, story-teller, the ungainly, uneducated practitioner of the Sangamon bar, instead of the able, learned, classical, polished Senator; and Mr. Weed did not comprehend that the mob in the Wigwam was the best possible representative of the rising public opinion." ("Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln," C. C. Coffin. Page 164. Harper & Brothers, N. Y., Publishers.) It may be further said, and with a reasonable presumption, that, in the event of Governor Seward's nomination and election, each of the above named gentlemen would expect, and probably demand, some recognition at his hands, commensurate to their ability and influence displayed in securing his nomination.

No doubt that either Mr. Weed or William M. Evarts, perhaps both, would have prized and sought the appointment as minister to the Court of St. James, for which each possessed

undoubted qualifications. Horace Greeley had been a member of Congress, and it is said he wished to return. Governor Seward's influence, as President-elect, would have been very effective in aiding him in his aspirations. David Dudley Field, the eminent New York attorney, doubtless wished to secure an appointment on the Supreme bench, and thus be privileged to sit beside his noted brother. Perhaps the editor and poet-author of "Thanatopsis," now 64 years old, preferred the quietude of his editorial sanctum and the wielding of his pen, which was a facile one, in the interest of his presidential candidate, than receive any appointment available in the gift of the President.

One more word concerning Mr. Lincoln's nomination, and I will have done. It may appear a drop from "the sublime to the ridiculous," but here it is. I shall always remember the day of the nomination. I was breaking prairie with a team of oxen on the Bloomington road, south of Ottawa, when a passerby announced the nomination of Mr. Lincoln. He said he preferred Seward, but Lincoln would do. We all soon thought that "Lincoln would do."

A few days after the visitation of the committee to Springfield, on May 23, 1860, Mr. Lincoln wrote and sent a formal letter of acceptance to the chairman of the convention.

A copy of the letter follows:

Springfield, Illinois, May 23, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun,

President of the Republican National Convention.

Sir: I accept the nomination tendered me by the convention over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised in the letter of yourself and others acting as a Committee of the Convention for that purpose.

The declaration of the principles and sentiments

which accompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my care not to violate it, or disregard it in any part.

Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the feelings of all who were represented in the convention, to the rights of all the States and Territories and people of the Nation, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual union, harmony and prosperity of all, I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention.

Your obliged friend and fellow citizen,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

It is not my purpose to write a history of the Democratic party or their presidential candidates during the memorable year of 1860; a year made memorable by the split of the said party, resulting in a near dissolution of the Union and dismemberment of the states. It is not my purpose thus to write, I state; but a brief correlative statement of the position taken by the different parties on the all-absorbing, paramount question, that year, of slavery, may be interesting to my readers, especially young readers.

It is generally known that the Democratic party held its national convention that year in Baltimore, Md. A split in the party, from the start, seemed to be inevitable. The position of Senator Douglas that the existence of slavery in territories should be contingent on, or determined by the popular vote of said territories, was as obnoxious to the South, as that taken by Mr. Lincoln, or more so.

The proceedings of the convention had not advanced very far till it became evident that no agreement could be reached in the framing of their resolution touching the slavery question, and so there seemed to be only one course for each wing

of the party to pursue and that was to "bolt" the convention and each nominate its own candidate. This they proceeded to do, the Northern Democrats nominating Judge Douglas, and the Southern, pro-slavery Democrats, the Hon. John C. Breckinridge. Mr. Breckinridge was very popular in the South, having been Vice-President under James Buchanan, and also elected to the United States Senate.

Previous to the convention, the Southern leaders had given repeated and earnest warnings. They assumed a position of malignant hostility to the North. Listen to their protests, or even stronger declaration. "Gentlemen of the North," they said, "look well to your doings: If you insist on your 'Squatter sovereignty' platform, in full view of its condemnation by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, you break up the Democratic party, nay more, you break up the Union. The unity of the Democratic party is the last bond that holds the Union together; that snapped, there is no other that can be trusted for a year."

Horace Greeley, in his great work, known as "The American Conflict," gives a clear definition of the position on which each candidate stood. He discards the "Constitutional Union" party, sponsored by Bell and Everett, as meaning nothing, and proceeds to say: "The Lincoln, Douglas and Breckinridge parties had deliberately planted themselves, respectively, on the following positions:

"1—Lincoln: Slavery can only exist by virtue of municipal law; and there is no law for it in the territories, and no power to enact one. Congress can establish or legalize slavery nowhere, but is bound to prohibit it in or exclude it from any and every Federal territory, whenever and wherever there shall be necessity or exclusion or prohibition.

"2—Douglas: Slavery or no slavery in any territory is entirely the affair of the white inhabitants of such territory. If they chose to have it, it is their right; if they chose not to

have it, they have the right to exclude or prohibit it. Neither Congress nor the people of the Union, nor any part of it, outside of the said territory, have any right to meddle with or trouble themselves about the matter.

“3—Breckinridge: The citizen of any state has a right to migrate to any territory, taking with him anything which is property by the law of his own state, and hold, enjoy, and be protected in the use of such property in said territory. And Congress is bound to render such protection wherever necessary, whether with or without the co-operation of the Territorial Legislature.”

The above declaration of principles, announced by the three candidates of the political parties which they represented, viz: the Republican party and the two wings of the Democratic party, North and South, should give ample knowledge to young readers, older ones already knowing it, of the great issues being discussed by party leaders that year. Seldom, if ever, have the citizens of this great Republic been so agitated over political issues and political measures, involving as they did the extension or limitation of slavery, as they were during the campaign of 1860. The exciting campaigns of Blaine and Cleveland in '84 and of McKinley and Bryan in '96 are possible exceptions.

Thus were the issues of the respective parties clearly defined. Either the universal extension of slavery into Northern territories and states, under the “popular sovereignty” policy of Douglas, or the non-extension of slavery into such territories and states by the Lincoln policy of Congressional prohibition.

Judge Douglas made quite an extended canvass during the campaign, if my memory serves me right; but Mr. Lincoln made but few addresses, as I recall. However, many eminent statesmen came to the aid of the Republican party and its renowned presidential candidate. The list includes such distin-

guished orators as the following: Senator Lyman Trumbull, Hon John A. Logan, Governor Oglesby and others of Illinois; Senators Grimes and Harlan of Iowa; Hon. Geo. W. Julian and Hon. Benjamin Harrison of Indiana; Hon. Ben Wade, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings and Governor Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Senator Zack Chandler of Michigan, the hero of a thousand political battles; Hon. Thurlow Weed, Hon. William M. Evarts, Governor Seward and others of New York; Hon. Simon Cameron and Thad Stephens of Pennsylvania; Hon. Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips of Massachusetts; Hon. James G. Blaine and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine; Hon. Cassius M. Clay, nephew of old Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and scores of others scarcely less noted, whose names I do not recall. Special mention should be made of Cassius M. Clay and the great service he rendered his country. Born and reared in the State of Kentucky and always surrounded by a pro-slavery atmosphere and influence, he became, nevertheless, a strong anti-slavery man and ardently espoused the cause of Mr. Lincoln in 1860.

I had the pleasure of hearing him in that campaign. He was considered as able or abler a platform orator than his noted uncle. He was lion-hearted and feared nothing. He spoke often in his own state and perhaps in other Southern states, but always at the risk of imminent death. His life was threatened many times by the slave-holding oligarchy of the South, but to no effect. He was accustomed to place two revolvers on his desk at each place of speaking, and announce in advance that if any person or persons attempted to molest him while speaking, they would get the contents of his weapons. His audience knew very well that he would put his threat into execution, if occasion demanded it, and thus he was allowed to proceed. He probably did more than any dozen men of his state in keeping Kentucky in the Union during the early and later days of secession. Lincoln honored his valor and great

service by sending him to the Court of Russia, as our Minister Plenipotentiary. Seldom, if ever, was there such a company of distinguished orators and statesmen, in our Republic, united in a common and spontaneous protest against the imminent aggression of slavery in newly acquired territory and on Northern soil. All regarded this aggression as a grave menace to our free institutions and the liberties of the people.

As long as the Federal law, known as the Missouri Compromise, remained intact, as it did from 1820 to 1854, confining slavery to states in which it already existed, the North enjoyed a feeling of security; but its repeal occasioned a political upheaval, a sense of universal opposition, excitement and alarm, the like of which had never before been known in this country. During the fall campaign, much opposition to the candidacy of Mr. Lincoln was developed, North as well as South.

Lincoln could withstand the calumnious assaults of the Southern press, but to be villified and misrepresented by Northern journals, especially by a few of the Republican papers, was hard on his sensitive nerves. Few men like to "be wounded in the house of their friends." The one paper in New York city disposed most to malign the good name and character of the noble Lincoln was the New York Herald. At least, it was so reported in substance. The great Commoner was characterized, if correctly reported, by said paper as "a third rate country lawyer, poorer even than poor Pierce." He would be of little worth if elected. He was given to "coarse and clumsy jokes and could not speak good grammar, etc." He was given the sobriquet of "honest old Abe" to distinguish him from the other members of his own party.

Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune, came nobly to his defense. "A man, who by his own genius and force of character, has raised himself from being a penniless and un-

educated flat-boatman on the Wabash River to the position Mr. Lincoln now occupies, is not likely to be a nullity anywhere," he asserted. William Cullen Bryant, editor of the New York Evening Post, came also to the support of Mr. Lincoln and to the nobility of his character. He declared, among other things, that the Republican presidential candidate was "a real representative man." It is said that "reporters were sent West to describe his home, his habits and family." The report as published in the leading Eastern journals was a very pleasing and reassuring one.

They described Mr. Lincoln as a gentleman who dressed becomingly, the owner of a fine two-story dwelling, had a cultured wife, formerly of Kentucky, who could speak French fluently, was the father of three noble sons, the oldest, Robert, being a student in Harvard College, and he (Lincoln) himself being a descendant of an aristocratic English family, a few generations back. This report was productive of the desired result. It was indeed, in common parlance, "an eye-opener." Few people in the East dreamed of such standing and characteristics of their candidate.

Instead of being the "rail-splitter and flat-boatman," so contemptuously described by the Democratic press, he was thenceforth known as the eminent lawyer, the brilliant orator, the great statesman of the West. While possessing but a limited education, his attainments were such that, in knowledge of public men and measures and of world movements as well, he became one of the foremost men of America. The publication of the reports as aforesaid, with similar editorials from great journals, East and West, disarmed adverse criticism to Mr. Lincoln most effectually, and placed him in his true light. Opposition, abuse, malignity gave way to support, commendation and praise. His reputation for rugged honesty and manly worth soon asserted itself and brought him to the fore.

In all the Republican gatherings that fall, from the Atlantic to the Western sea coast, immense throngs were in attendance. You would naturally anticipate this, from the paramount issues involved and from the character and pre-eminent ability of the orators, on each occasion. They were men of national and international reputation, and in some instances, drew their audiences from a radius of 100 miles or more.

During the campaign, in August, 1860, Mr. Lincoln's friends, from far and near, decided to visit him at his home city. It is said that 70,000 people, mostly strangers, poured into Springfield that day. They came largely from the adjoining states of Iowa and Indiana, but many thousands came from Chicago and vicinity. One writer states that "old men of the War of 1812, with their old wives, their children, grand-children and great grand-children were there; making a procession of human beings, horses and carriages, not less than ten miles in length. And yet the procession might have left the city and the people would scarcely be missed."

In addition to the oratorical feast from many of the foremost speakers of the Nation, a man from the East gave inspiration to the occasion by singing a song entitled, "The Ship of State," with a chorus, beginning "Our Lincoln is the Man." The name of the author is not given. It runs thus:

"Hark, hark, a signal gun is heard,
Just out beyond the fort;
The good old Ship of State, my boys,
Is coming into port.

"With shattered sails and anchors gone,
I fear the rogues will strand her;
She carries now a sorry crew,
And needs a new commander.

CHORUS

"Our Lincoln is the man,
Our Lincoln is the man,
With a sturdy mate
From the Pine-Tree State,
Our Lincoln is the man.

"We give her what repairs she needs,
A thorough overhauling,
Her sordid crew shall be dismissed
To seek some honest calling.
Brave Lincoln soon shall take the helm,
On truth and right relying,
In calm or storm, in peace or war,
He'll keep her colors flying.

CHORUS

"Old Abram is the man,
Old Abram is the man,
With a sturdy mate
From the Pine-Tree State,
Old Abram is the man."

This was sung in Mr. Lincoln's presence, and it is said he enjoyed it very much; but it did not become him, considering his position, to express his appreciation, then and there, of the song. However, after the service was over and the people had dispersed, he sought an interview with the singer and requested him to sing it to him in his private office, which he did to the great delight of Mr. Lincoln.

Miss Tarbell, in her fine history of Lincoln, states that in the Republican campaign of 1860 there was one distinguishing feature, known as Wide-Awakes. "These were bands of torch-

bearers who, in simple uniforms of glazed cap and cape, and carrying colored lanterns or blazing coal-oil torches, paraded the streets." Other clubs were formed in most of the cities of the United States, adopting the same name, "Wide-Awakes," "and drilled from one end of the North to the other." The same writer remarks that "many of the clubs owned Lincoln rails, and one club, the Hartford Wide-Awakes, possessed the identical maul with which Lincoln had split the rails for the famous fence." ("The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Vol 1, Page 365. The Macmillan Company, N. Y., Publishers.)

These scenes and reminders of Lincoln's early struggles produced a marked effect on the minds of the people, especially of the rural class, many of whom had experienced the same hardships in their pioneer days. This occasioned a feeling of kinship between the people and the great Commoner. That Mr. Lincoln should have a large following from such admirers is not surprising.

During the early fall campaign it became apparent that there would be a strong reaction in the pro-slavery sentiment of the North before the November election. While many Democrats were disposed to tolerate slavery in state where it already existed, they strenuously opposed its extension in Northern territories and states, which was made possible under the Douglas folly of "Popular Sovereignty."

The great Republican orators had so fired the minds and hearts of the people with the enormity of such a possibility that it became, in the thought of many, a veritable menace to our institutions, of which democracy must take cognizance. This could have but one result, the alienation of Democratic votes and the augmentation of Republican strength. This was more apparent as the time of election approached.

Several weeks prior to the November election, many men who had kept their fingers on the public pulse freely predicted

the election of Mr. Lincoln, or at least that he would have a large plurality vote over any of his competitors. This even would be a great compliment, since there were four presidential candidates in the field: Lincoln, Douglas, Breckinridge and Bell. However, a plurality vote does not always mean an election; for our Federal Constitution provides (Article 12, Section 1 that "The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such a number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed."

Thus we see that a plurality vote of any presidential candidate, if less than a majority of the number of electors appointed, does not constitute an election. Granted that Mr. Lincoln would have a large plurality vote, as above indicated, the supreme question was, would he have, or no, a majority of the number of electors appointed?

The presidential election of November 6, 1860, was peculiar and quite exceptional to any previous national election of which I have any knowledge. Fifteen states gave Mr. Lincoln no electoral votes, and it is stated that "in ten states he had not received a single popular vote." No Northern presidential candidate had ever before been thus treated. But let us not despair! "Hope springs eternal in the human breast," as we know. There were 303 electoral votes that year, and the successful candidate must have one-half, plus one, ($152\frac{1}{2}$) to be elected. When the canvass of votes was made and the result announced, Mr. Lincoln (all hail) had received 180 of the electoral votes. Don't you think there was rejoicing in Heaven, among the angels, that day, as well as in most of the Northern homes? Of the popular vote he had received only 1,866,452, but this was 1,250,000 over Bell, 1,000,000 over Breckinridge, and nearly 500,000 over Douglas. Enough said. This was "glory enough for one day."

On the day of election, November 6, Mr. Lincoln, it is said,

was calm and sure of the result. The news at first received, mostly from New York, was not favorable and created a little apprehension. Later the tide was turned and he soon learned of his election. One writer states that on receipt of the news, Mr. Lincoln's "heart overflowed with thanksgiving to God for His providential goodness to our beloved country." Mr. Lincoln continued: "I cannot conceal the fact that I am a very happy man, and added, with much feeling, "who could help being so under such circumstances?"

It is said that at a late hour he went home to break the good news to his wife, remarking as he started that there was a "little woman there who would like to hear the news."

The members of the club who were entertaining him and watching the dispatches that night gave him three rousing cheers when he left. Mr. Lincoln had advised his wife that night to retire early and not await his return, as the hour of his arrival might be late. He says: "On my arrival I went to my bedroom and found my wife sound asleep. I gently touched her shoulder and said, 'Mary'; she made no answer. I spoke again a little louder, saying, 'Mary, Mary, we are elected.'" He further states that he "then went to bed; but before sleeping, he had selected every member of his cabinet, save one." ("Tributes from His Associates," Henry C. Bowen. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, Publishers.)

As is customary in such cases, he chose the next most prominent candidate for President in the national convention, Governor William H. Seward, for his Secretary of State. He also selected Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania as his Secretary of War. These two had also been rivals of his for the presidential nomination. Mr. Lincoln desired that all his competitors should have a place in his Cabinet "in order to create harmony in the party." Gideon Wells was selected as Secretary

of the Navy, Montgomery Blair as Postmaster-General, Edward Bates as Attorney-General, and Caleb B. Smith as Secretary of the Interior. These were the names of the seven members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, as confirmed by the Senate four months afterwards. But the record does not tell which one was omitted in his first night's selection.

Mr. Lincoln desired Governor Seward as his Secretary of State in consequence of his distinguished ability and eminence as a statesman. Also, he regarded the Governor as "a good representative of the progressive, anti-slavery element of the party." It is further said that he desired "a Republican, not a Whig administration, and therefore acquired and formed a Republican Cabinet." The time intervening between the date of his election and that of his inauguration was a period of intense anxiety and solicitude. Many statesmen in the South had declared in advance of the election that if Mr. Lincoln were elected, they would proceed to form a "Southern Confederacy." There was no just cause for alarm in the South, for Lincoln had never uttered a word either in public or private that would in any way interfere with their pet institution of slavery in states where it already existed. To be sure, he had opposed its further aggression and extension into Northern territories and states, as had thousands of Northern Democrats as well. But no thought of invading the South and interfering with their laws and institutions. The people of the South had thought and talked for decades of a separation from the North, and doubtless thought this to be a most propitious time to put their threats into execution. Four days after the election, the United States Senator from South Carolina resigned. This incident was not surprising. Indeed it was to be anticipated; for be it remembered that this state had been the hot-bed of secession for nearly thirty years before.

The student of history will recall that in 1833 South Caro-

lina, under the leadership of U. S. Senator John C. Calhoun, undertook to nullify the tariff law, enacted by Congress, which imposed a light tariff on certain importations not favorable to Southern states. The Legislature of the State passed a resolution that any state might annul any act of the Federal Government. This resolution was considered tantamount to a threatened dissolution of the Union.

Years thereafter, Senator Calhoun delivered his famous address on slavery, maintaining that the interests of the South would be best served by a dissolution of the Union; and, surprising to say, he continued by voice and pen, during the period of his life to urge the wisdom of such a measure, which was secession, pure and simple. I have enlarged on this (perhaps unduly so) to show that South Carolina was right in its elements when it made the first move to secede. During the winter months of '60 and '61 many Southern states met and passed ordinances of secession, which were sources of unutterable distress to Mr. Lincoln; but he was powerless to prevent their treasonable procedure.

In the month of February, representatives of the Southern states, at Montgomery, Alabama, united in a general convention to perfect their ordinance and give birth to a nation that they christened as "The Confederate States of America," generally known as "The Southern Confederacy." In this convention, they adopted their Constitution and provided for certain offices, made necessary to properly function their newly formed government.

When the people of the North saw this disintegration, incident to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the grave problems confronting them, it is not surprising that they were filled with alarm and dismay. Some Northern papers favored a compromise, while others demanded coercion. The most prominent of the former class was the New York Tribune, wherein Horace

Greeley proclaimed that "we should permit the erring sisters to depart." The New York Herald was of the opinion that the President-elect should do something to compromise the South and thus prevent secession.

We had at the time, a weak and vascillating man in the Presidential chair, by the name of James Buchanan. He assumed an attitude towards the South of conciliation, verging on approval. He maintained that the Constitution gave him, as President, no power to coerce a seceding State. That was just what the so-called Confederates wanted. Mr. Lincoln thought otherwise, which we will be able to show.

CHAPTER V.

GATHERING CLOUDS

DURING the months preceding the inauguration, Springfield became the storm center for politicians and other aspirants who sought from Mr. Lincoln a promise for appointments to various positions which would soon be at his disposal.

Way back in the days of President Jackson, a precedent was established that "to the victors belonged the spoils" and the same slogan was maintained by succeeding Presidents up to the date of Mr. Lincoln's election. Politicians thought there should be no exception with the new administration; and so they came by hundreds from northern and border states to demand recognition from the President-elect. They requested appointments to various lucrative and honorable positions, both domestic and foreign, and all within the gift or bestowal of the executive. They doubtless thought and tried to convince him that his election in the states they represented was largely due to the effective service they were able to render him during the previous campaign. These deputations of office seekers and place hunters from some states came not only often, but in large numbers.

Candidates for Cabinet appointments gave him no little inconvenience and trouble. There was some rivalry and struggle between the states of Indiana and Illinois along lines that became quite embarrassing to Mr. Lincoln.

There was a disposition on the part of the President-elect to make a just and honorable allotment of these and other appointments among the Northern and border states; but the candidates from his own state, many of whom were his per-

sonal friends, were so insistent in their demands as to make it very perplexing to Lincoln. His unfailing good humor and good judgment, however, served him well in this emergency; for the official appointees, as finally announced, were considered by the masses as the very best that could be made under the circumstances. They were men, in most instances, of rare ability and experience in statecraft; and best of all, they worked in strict harmony with the new administration in all the perplexing problems with which they were soon confronted.

Meanwhile, a war cloud, not larger perhaps than a man's hand, made its appearance. Hostilities in many places in the North had arisen. A peace congress had convened at the National Capitol to discuss measures to avert the possibility of war.

Similar meetings were held in many cities of the North, of groups desirous of doing everything reasonable to pacify the South, but to no avail.

James Buchanan, the weak old man, was either unable or unwilling, perhaps both, to control the treasonable, rebellious acts of his Cabinet, the members of which were mostly Southern men or Southern sympathizers. This made it easier for the South to mobilize their forces and strike the fateful blow, precipitating the rebellion, when the opportune moment should arrive.

John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War, a Southern man, proceeded to move the army to different sections of the South, so it could not be available for the protection of the Capital when the anticipated emergency should arise. In like manner, he moved the arms and munitions of war from Northern forts and arsenals to those of Southern states. It is also recorded that Isaac Toucy, Secretary of the Navy, a Northern man, but influenced by Southern conspirators, sent our men of war and other naval forces to the four quarters of the globe

so as to further weaken the defense of the North in its hour of supreme need. Howell Cobb of Georgia was Secretary of the Treasury. He soon became a rank secessionist and participated as general in the Southern rebellion. He had so conducted the finances of the country as to leave the treasury bankrupt when he resigned. These were the dire, appalling conditions that confronted the new administration when the noble Lincoln took command.

To further complicate matters, if not to add insult to injury, Attorney-General Black had given his official opinion that "Neither Congress nor the President could carry on any war against any state." As much as to say that the U. S. Constitution did not invest the President with any power to coerce any state that had withdrawn from the Union. How fortunate for our once distracted but now united and happy country that our new President and Cabinet placed a different construction and interpretation on our great Federal Constitution. It should be further added that while members of the old Cabinet were carrying out their acts of conspiracy against the government they had sworn to protect, the members of Congress from the South, both in the House and Senate, occupied their seats, drew their pay to the last, holding possession of the government, "but plotting at the same time to overthrow it."

It is quite fortunate, and reassuring as well, that not all the members of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet were rebels at heart or Southern sympathizers. General Lewis Cass, a Northern man, was Secretary of State. He saw the storm was brewing and the country in imminent peril. He advised the President to send reinforcements at once to Major Anderson who was in command, with a small force, at Fort Moultrie, Charleston Harbor. He declined, and General Cass peremptorily resigned.

Attorney-General Black, who had given the President such an unwise and erroneous interpretation of the Constitution as

effecting the coercion of seceding states, also resigned. He, doubtless, saw his position would precipitate a rebellion, entailing the horrors of war, and early withdrew to avoid added responsibility.

Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, a staunch Union man, succeeded Black as Attorney-General. When Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, a Confederate at heart, advised the President to surrender the forts in Charleston Harbor, and to withdraw Major Anderson and his loyal force, Secretary Stanton addressed the President as follows: "Mr. President, it is my duty as your legal advisor to say that you have no right to give up the property of the government or abandon the soldiers of the United States to its enemies; and the course proposed by the Secretary of the Interior, if followed, is treason, and will involve you and all concerned in treason." ("Abraham Lincoln and the Downfall of Slavery," Noah Brooks, Page 213. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons, Publishers, New York and London.)

This lion-hearted man, Stanton, had no hesitancy in characterizing the advise of Secretary Thompson as treasonable, though it was the first time perhaps that the word "treason" had been mentioned by any member of Buchanan's Cabinet. General John A. Dix was appointed the successor of Howell Cobb as Secretary of the Treasury. He was from New York and loyal to the core as a Union man. One of our revenue cutters was in peril from Southern forces, and General Dix sent to its commander, possibly in spite of President Buchanan's protest, the now famous dispatch: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." The Union cause was also strengthened by the appointment of Joseph Holt of Kentucky, a loyal man, as Secretary of War.

It will be recalled that Floyd, his predecessor, had neutralized, if not destroyed, the efficiency of the United States army

by sending it largely to Southern forts. The new war secretary was quite efficient in mobilizing and strengthening the remaining forces and having them ready and equipped for the new administration.

From December 20, 1860, to February 1, 1861, a period of about six weeks, seven Southern states convened and passed ordinances of secession. The enactment of the ordinances and the dates thereof were in the order following:

South Carolina, December 20, 1860; Mississippi, January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10, 1861; Alabama, January 11, 1861; Georgia, January 18, 1861; Louisiana, January 26, 1861; and Texas, February 1, 1861. The other four states seceding postponed their conventions and the enactment of their ordinances of secession till after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln.

The withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union was accomplished without delay and with marked unanimity. But in many other states much opposition was developed. This was especially true in the state of Georgia, where one-third or more of the people were loyal to the old flag, and bitterly opposed to secession.

This opposition was sponsored by many men of note, the most distinguished of whom was Alexander H. Stephens. He was a brilliant orator and an ex-member of Congress. He was in the same Congress of which Mr. Lincoln was a member in 1847. They were both Whigs and remained warm friends up to and including the months just preceding rebellion. Indeed, I think they remained friends, *sub rosa*, during all the dark years of the war.

In the Georgia convention that passed the ordinance of secession, Mr. Stephens made the speech of his life, in opposition to the ordinance. One writer says that "Alexander H. Stephens spoke for the Union with a warmth and logic not

surpassed by anything that was said at the North." ("Abraham Lincoln," John T. Morse, Vol. 1, Page 184. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston.) I recall from memory a part of the great speech he delivered on that occasion, though it has been perhaps 60 years or longer since I read it. He recited in part that there was no just cause or occasion for the South to secede from the Union; that the South had furnished a fair proportion of the Presidents of the United States, including Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson; now that the North had elected a Republican President, with no threat of interfering with slavery, there should be no reason for pursuing the course the South had adopted, involving as it would the dissolution of the Union and the precipitation of a war. His eloquent appeal had but little effect.

Robert Tooms, an able statesman and a member of the United States Senate, together with General Cobb and Iverson, favored the dismemberment of the state and thus carried the day. The ensuing vote disclosed the fact that 208 favored the seceding ordinance and 89 opposed it.

What powerful influence was brought to bear on the mind of the loyal Stephens, afterwards, to change his convictions and accept the position of Vice-President of the Confederacy will never be known, probably. It was thought by many, and I think Mr. Lincoln shared the belief, that Stephens was rather luke-warm in his support of Jefferson Davis and his measures, during the period of his incumbency. He evidently had but few regrets at the surrender of General Lee and the collapse of the Southern Confederacy. He hailed with secret joy the returning supremacy of the Federal Constitution and all that it implied. In '74 he was again elected to Congress where he remained eight years, being held in high esteem by his colleagues and friends, and was loyal to the best interests of the Republic.

Texas did not have clear sailing in its advocacy of secession. The measure was opposed by the Governor of the state, Samuel Houston, with all the influence and power he could command. It will be recalled that in 1836 he conquered the Mexicans at San Jacinto and secured the independence of Texas, of which republic he was elected President. Nine years after, when Texas came into the Union, he was elected its Senator; and now in '61 he was its great Governor. He could properly be called the "father" of that great state. He marshalled his forces in opposition to the prevailing disunion sentiment of the state, but to no avail.

It is said that at the opening of the war, in a remarkable speech, he described the development of the impending conflict; but the pro-war enthusiasm and sentiment neutralized his great influence and hastened an early adoption of the ordinance. The life of Governor Houston was even threatened by assassination. It is said that Senator Iverson of Georgia remarked that "some Texan Brutus may arise to rid his country of this old hoary-headed traitor." I merely write this to show that the course of true love for the Confederacy did not run smooth in the sunny South.

The states adopting ordinances of secession subsequent to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration are as follows: Virginia, April 17, 1861; North Carolina, May 20, 1861; Arkansas first defeated its ordinance of secession, but afterward, in May, 1861, adopted the measure; Tennessee defeated its first ordinance in January, 1861, but in June following passed the measure by over 57,000. I mention these historic events for the benefit, mainly, of my young readers who may desire them for future reference.

The question was often asked as to the cause that led the South to secede. Mr. Lincoln's election was a mere pretense. It may have been the occasion, but certainly not the cause of secession. Nothing had been said by Mr. Lincoln, either in

public or private; no action had been taken by any Republican convention, state or national, that would lead the South to believe that their institution of slavery would be imperiled by the possible election of the Republican candidate. To be sure, Mr. Lincoln, in his great debates with Judge Douglas two years before, had many times stated that the government should resist the further extension of slavery in newly acquired territory, with all the power at its command; but at the same time announced that slavery should not be interfered with in states where it already existed. The South could not possibly be deceived as to Mr. Lincoln's attitude on this absorbing question.

What then was the predisposing cause of secession?

In my judgment, it dated back to the nullification act of South Carolina, under the leadership of Senator John C. Calhoun, wherein it was declared that any state had a right to withdraw from the Union whenever its best interests would be served thereby. For this act, General Jackson, then President, expressed his regrets later, that he had not tried Calhoun for treason, and if found guilty, hang him as high as Haman.

During the thirty years following, up to the time of the rebellion, the seeds of disunion had been sown broadcast throughout the states of the South, and the people were only waiting, impatiently waiting, under the leadership of Jefferson Davis, Bob Tooms, Mason Sidel and others, for an opportune moment to strike. Lincoln's election afforded this opportunity, a sham pretext though it was.

It was evidently the purpose of these and other Southern leaders to establish a slave-holding Republic or nationality in the South, of which they would be the leaders. They also cherished the conviction that the institution of slavery could be sustained and perpetuated better by being separated from the North, and thus would be free from the enduring hostility

that would be theirs while remaining in the Federal Union. For these "inalienable rights" they were willing to fight "and shed their last drop of blood," if necessary.

They sought and secured an early opportunity to put their threats into execution. Major Anderson with a small detachment of United States troops was then in command at Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. This was one of the few forts where the Stars and Stripes were still flying. Early in January, '61, the President was persuaded to send men and supplies to Major Anderson by the merchant steamer "Star of the West." But the citizens of Charleston intercepted and fired upon the steamer and compelled her to return. This was probably the first overt act of the impending conflict on the part of the South.

The news of Southern states seceding in rapid succession and the subsequent information of the rebel attack on a Government transport must have been painful to Mr. Lincoln in the extreme; but he was powerless to prevent it.

Many Union men of the North, especially those near the heart of the President-elect, besought him to do something that would be reassuring to the South and thus prevent further resistance to the constituted authority of the Government. But he declined, not wishing to interfere in any way with the administration of his predecessor. He knew very well that his advice would not be appreciated, much less entertained, and that more than words and attempted compromise were necessary to save the situation.

Early in February, he made arrangements for his departure to Washington. Before doing so, however, he decided to visit his step-mother, whom he dearly loved and whom he had not seen for many years. Her home was at Farmington, Coles County, about 100 miles southeast from Springfield. Thither he hastened, but stopped first to visit his cousin, Dennis Hanks,

near Charleston, in the same county. That night a number of former neighbors and friends gathered at the humble home of Mr. Hanks to meet and greet their former friend and young associate. He was known then simply as "Abe Lincoln, the rail splitter." But now he had become the "first citizen" of America, the President of the United States. They felt proud of his wonderful successes and high attainments; while he very much enjoyed the sweet companionship of his old-time, boyhood friends.

However, his affections were centered in the heart and home of the dear one he called mother, so in the early morning, seated in a carriage drawn by two spirited horses and accompanied by a friend, he set off for the Farmington home. They found some difficulty in crossing dangerous streams, much swollen by melting snow, that season of the year; but eventually they arrived in safety at their destination.

The meeting of mother and son was of a very tender and affectionate character. The mother warmly embraced her son, while he in turn planted kisses on her furrowed cheeks and brow. They, doubtless, spent the day in reviewing the events of the long ago, when she, as Sally Bush Johnson, left Kentucky to repair the broken home of Thomas Lincoln in his Indiana cabin. Little Abe and his sister Sarah had been tender in years then; but they were as affectionately cared for and reared by the new mother as they would have been had their own mother survived.

At the time of this visit, Mrs. Thomas Lincoln was living with one of her daughters. It will be remembered that when, about forty years before, Sally Bush Johnson married Thos. Lincoln, she brought with her to the new home a son and two daughters; and now by one of the daughters, in her old age, she was being tenderly cared for. It will also be recalled that some twenty-five years prior to this visit, Mr. Lincoln, then a

young attorney, took \$500 in gold to his step-mother, and with it, purchased for her 160 acres of land. From the proceeds of this farm she, doubtless, had obtained a comfortable living all these intervening years. The parting time, in this last visit between the two, was sad and touching. As she embraced and bade him farwell, she expressed a conviction that she would never see him again, for said she, "Your enemies may assassinate you." Mr. Lincoln replied, "No, no, mother; they will not do that. Trust in the Lord and all will be well; we will see each other again."

How true it is that "Man proposes, but God disposes." The assassin's bullet did its fatal work, and Lincoln never visited his step-mother again. Someone has said that we determine our plans and enter upon our life work with joyful anticipations of the unfolding pleasures of future years, when in a short time our lives are required of us, and we fade away into the nothingness of death.

After leaving his mother's home, Mr. Lincoln with his companion drove to the old Lincoln homestead where, thirty years before, he had assisted his father in the carving out and developing of a farm from the primeval forest, and where he split the celebrated rails that gave him notoriety and contributed to his political success. Thence he went to the old cemetery where the remains of Thomas Lincoln, his worthy father, reposed. He found the place quite dilapidated, and the grave unmarked. He expressed a desire to have it enclosed and a tombstone erected, marking his last resting place; but whether this was done during the life of the President, the historian does not record. Shortly after Lincoln's return to Springfield, he started with his family, wife and three sons, on his long journey to Washington. A few of his personal friends knowing the time of his departure assembled at the station to shake hands and bid adieu, for what proved to be the last

time, with their distinguished citizen. From the rear platform of his train, he delivered to them a short but pathetic farewell, saying:

"My friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people, I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved on any other man since the days of Washington. He would never have succeeded except by the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him; and in the same Almighty being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

I quote from Henry Villard, who accompanied the presidential party, and at whose request Mr. Lincoln wrote it out shortly after leaving the station. On their way to the National Capital, in most of the cities and towns the people turned out in large numbers to see the President and pay him their respects. In several of the cities, where the stop was sufficiently long, he made short addresses.

At Tolono, he spoke briefly as follows: "I am leaving you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with considerable difficulties. Let us believe, as some poet has expressed it: 'Behind the cloud the sun is still shining.' I bid you an affectionate farewell."

At Indianapolis, it is said, the whole city turned out to do him honor. Having been escorted to the Bates House, he spoke from the balcony, as follows: "To the salvation of the Union

there needs but one thing, the hearts of a people like yours. Of the people, when they rise in mass in behalf of the Union and the liberties of their country, truly may it be said: 'The gates of hell cannot prevail against them.'" ("The Children's Life of Abraham Lincoln," by M. Louise Putnam, page 112.)

Thence his train took him to Cincinnati, where he received a great ovation. The party remained in the city over night and next morning started for Columbus, the capital of the state. The legislature being in session, he was invited to address their body, which he did, speaking as follows: "There has fallen on me a task such as did not rest even upon the father of his country; and so feeling, I cannot but turn and look for the support without which it will be impossible for me to perform that great task. I turn, then, and look to the great American people, and to that God who has never forsaken them." Thus Miss Putnam records it.

They tarried in Columbus that night and next day traveled to Pittsburgh, arriving there in the evening. Here, as elsewhere, he was met by a large company of admirers. The party rested there that night, and in the morning Mr. Lincoln was waited upon by the Mayor and City Council; and after receiving from them an address of welcome, he replied as follows, speaking briefly on the tariff: "The tariff is a question of national housekeeping. It is to the government what replenishing the meal tub is to the family."

Their next principal stop was at Cleveland. The citizens here gave him an enthusiastic reception and welcomed his coming by the roar of cannon. Mr. Lincoln addressed the large gathering and closed his remarks by saying: "If all do not join now to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage." For the above quotations, I am under obligation to M. Louise Putnam, the noted Lincoln writer.

The next morning Mr. Lincoln and party started for Buffalo, where they spent the Sabbath and enjoyed a much needed rest. They had been on the train since the previous Monday morning and were quite fatigued. On Monday they started for their long trip across the State of New York to Albany, addressing the people briefly at different cities, including Rochester, Syracuse and Utica; then they sped on to Albany, where a large company escorted Mr. Lincoln to the State House. They next passed on to Troy, where Mr. Lincoln thanked the people briefly for their kind reception.

In their journey, a few hours before, the train stopped at Westfield a few moments and perhaps at Mr. Lincoln's suggestion. He stepped to the rear of the car and made a brief speech, stating among other things that he had in their city a little correspondent, by the name of Grace Bedell, and if she were present he would like to see her. It seems that in the presidential campaign of the previous fall little Grace had seen a portrait of Mr. Lincoln, and she remarked to her mother that she thought he would look better if he wore whiskers. Up to that time he never had worn a beard, and she was going to write to Mr. Lincoln and tell him so.

So she wrote him a short epistle, telling him of her age and place of residence, and that she was a Republican; further she thought he would make a good president, but would look better if he would wear a beard. If he would do this she would induce her two brothers, who were Democrats, to vote for him. She further wrote: "If you do not have time to answer my letter, will you allow your little girl to reply for you?" The letter pleased Mr. Lincoln, and he answered at once.

Springfield, Ill., October 19, 1860.

Miss Grace Bedell:

My dear little Miss: Your very agreeable letter of the 15th is received. I regret the necessity of saying

I have no daughter. I have three sons: one seventeen; one nine; and one seven years of age. They, with their mother, constitute my whole family. As to whiskers, having never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affectation if I should begin now? Your very sincere well-wisher,

A. LINCOLN.

It may be said that evidently Mr. Lincoln took this matter of whisker-growing quite seriously, for before he started East his face was adorned with a full-grown beard, barring the upper lip.

Recurring now to the Westfield incident, it was quite natural that Mr. Lincoln should desire to see his "little correspondent" and show her that her epistle to him had been productive of good results. So when her name was called out Grace responded at once, coming forward timidly to the car, when the great-hearted Lincoln reached down his long arms and, lifting the little girl up, kissed her. Colonel McClure, in his "Life of Lincoln," from which I have made extended extracts, says this was done "amid enthusiastic applause from the approving multitude." It is quite evident that little Grace long remembered this happy, inspiring incident, and was pleased with the thought that the president-elect had grown a beard at her request.

In a former paragraph I mentioned the arrival of the presidential party at Troy, N. Y. Thence they turned southward, where at Hudson, Poughkeepsie and Peekskill, Lincoln made short addresses, thence proceeded to New York City, where they arrived early in the afternoon. A large company of political and other friends met Lincoln at the depot and escorted him and party to the Astor House. Business was suspended and vast throngs crowded Broadway and other thor-

oughfares to secure, if possible, a glimpse of the future President. A speech from Mr. Lincoln was loudly called for, but he was too fatigued to respond, though he stepped upon the balcony of the hotel and bowed to the excited multitude.

At Trenton, N. J., the next stop, Mr. Lincoln was received by a committee of the Legislature and escorted to the State House. In his short address he alluded to the fact that in his early life he had read Weems' "Life of Washington," in which were recited accounts of the numerous battlefields and marvelous struggles of the Revolutionary fathers for the liberties of the country; and none of them fixed themselves more vividly on his young imagination than the struggle in and around Trenton. He recalled the bravery of Washington in crossing the Delaware, with its swift, icy current, and the great peril to the soldiers thus involved. He also spoke of other hardships and acts of bravery incident to the Revolutionary War, and thought it was something more than common that these men struggled for. From Trenton the Lincoln party proceeded to Philadelphia, and were entertained at the Continental Hotel. He was invited to raise the American flag over Independence Hall, from which the Declaration of Independence was first proclaimed to the world, which invitation he readily accepted. Before doing so, he proceeded to make an impressive, patriotic address. He maintained that the Declaration of Independence not only recited that all men were created equal but that it implied more; it implied that there should be equal rights for all, equal and exact justice to all men.

"This is the sentiment," he remarked, "embodied in the Declaration of Independence." He proceeded to say: "If the country cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if it cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. I have said nothing but what I am

willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by." ("The Children's Life of Abraham Lincoln," M. L. Putnam, Page 121.) Having said this, he stepped to the platform, and taking hold of the cord, drew the beautiful flag to the top of the staff. An admiring multitude expressed their appreciation by prolonged applause.

While at his hotel at Philadelphia Lincoln met Allen Pinkerton, a well known detective from Chicago, who informed him that there was a well-laid plan for his assassination at the very time he was expected to go through Baltimore, and that he (Pinkerton) was well informed as to the plan. Lincoln was not disposed to believe the report, but Fred Seward, son of Governor Seward, arrived at the hotel shortly afterwards and was soon closeted with Lincoln in the latter's room. Young Seward informed him that he had come there at the instance of his father and General Scott to tell him that their detectives at Baltimore had discovered a plot there to assassinate him.

It seems that these detectives knew nothing about the plot, concerning which Mr. Pinkerton had previously learned. In writing about this incident subsequently Lincoln said: "I now believed such a plot to be in existence." Their plans were quickly changed. Long after night-fall, Lincoln, with Detective Pinkerton and Ward H. Lamon, his law-partner and body-guard, was taken in a carriage to the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad depot. Lincoln secured a berth in the sleeping car and at 11 p. m. the train started for Washington, where it arrived a little before daylight, on February 23. The train with its precious freight passing through Baltimore at an unexpected hour frustrated, most effectually, the murderous designs of the would-be assassins. Lincoln was met at the depot by Congressman Washburn of Illinois and Governor Seward of New York, and escorted to the Willard Hotel. "The meeting of these great men," it is said, "under the extraordinary

circumstances which surrounded them was full of emotion and thankfulness." A more extended account of the journey of Lincoln from Springfield to Washington can be found in "The Children's Life of Abraham Lincoln," by the able writer, M. Louise Putnam.

When Lincoln arrived in Washington he found the government in a deplorable, chaotic condition. Surrounded by an atmosphere as well as threats of secession, many of our Northern political leaders had become somewhat intimidated and willing to make most any compromise with the South, however detrimental it might be to the National Government, if such compromise would prevent a precipitation of war.

In the early part of December, 1860, no less than forty bills were introduced in Congress, it is said, each offering a panacea or remedy for existing political ills, and none productive of favorable results. In the discussion of the various propositions by Northern Congressmen, there was a babel of incoherent expression that was bewildering in the extreme, and in no way flattering to the intelligence of an American Congressman. Andrew Johnson, who was then Vice-President, tried to conciliate the South by suggesting a scheme that would give the Presidency to the South and Vice-Presidency to the North and vice-versa every alternate four years. Daniel Sickel, a Congressman, suggested another but equally puerile scheme, namely, that New York City be permitted to withdraw from the Union and form an independent sovereignty like some cities of ancient Europe.

Of course there were some men in Congress of strong force and character, notably Ben Wade of Ohio, Zack Chandler of Michigan, and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, who stood with their faces like a flint against disunion, unyielding to any system of compromise, however specious it might appear. The people of America owe to these three resolute men and a few other Congressmen a debt of gratitude.

In his message to Congress in December, 1860, President Buchanan, a weak, vacillating ruler, like Pilate of old, found no authority in the Constitution to coerce a state, seceding from the Union. He took occasion to point out and emphasize what he denominated as negations and prohibitions in every line of the Constitution, but saw no declaration of aid or assistance to the government in the great instrument he had sworn to support.

Frederick Trever Hill represents Mr. Seward as stating that the President in "his long and argumentative message to Congress in December, 1860, conclusively proved, first, that no state had the right to secede unless it wanted to; and, second, that it was the President's duty to enforce the law unless somebody opposed him."

The same writer says, in substance, that Seward himself, as an able lawyer though he was, subsequently lost his head by asserting that the best method of avoiding civil strife was to instigate a foreign war. Older readers will readily recall that Horace Greeley, the great New York Tribune editor, opposed Mr. Lincoln almost from the start, and maintained, in substance, that where a number of states desired to secede, as was the case in the South, the best thing to do was to "let the erring sisters go." Thus we see the opposition and grave problems that confronted Lincoln from the outset.

(END OF PART ONE)

PART TWO
THE PRESIDENCY OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER I.

POLICIES AND HOSTILITIES

AT NOON, March 4, 1861, President Buchanan came to the Willard Hotel to escort the President-elect to the Capitol. Together they were driven to the north end of the Capitol, being carefully guarded by platoons of soldiers, which were stationed at convenient intervals along the avenue.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell, speaking of the event, describes it as follows: "Arm in arm with Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln passed through the long tunnel erected for his protection, entered the Capitol, and passed into the Senate Chamber, filled to overflowing with Senators, members of the diplomatic corps and visitors. The contrast between the two men as they entered struck every observer. 'Mr. Buchanan was so withered and bowed with age,' wrote George W. Julian of Indiana, who was among the spectators, 'that in contrast with the towering form of Mr. Lincoln he seemed little more than half a man.'"

She proceeds to state, in substance, that shortly the distinguished company began to move from the Senate Chamber to the east front of the Capitol, being led by the justices of the Supreme Court, in cap and gown. When the company was conveniently seated on the platform erected on the east portico of the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced to the front, "where he was introduced by his friend, Senator Baker of Oregon."

He reversed the general order of taking the oath of office provided in the Constitution, and then delivering the message, by speaking first and then taking the required official oath.

He was dressed in a fine cutaway suit and a silk hat, prob-

ably the first he ever possessed. He unfolded and took his voluminous manuscript in his left hand, holding his hat in the other, and while looking for a convenient place in which to place it, Judge Douglas, a life-long political antagonist, stepped forward quickly and took it, remarking as he did so: "If I can't be President, I, at least, can hold his hat." ("The Life of Abraham Lincoln," Ida M. Tarbell. Vol. 2, Page 1. The Macmillan Company, New York, Publishers.) In the fine inaugural picture, which is available in most of our book-stores, the manly form of the great Commoner, with head and shoulders towering above the surrounding auditors, is seen at the stand, with Chief Justice Taney at his right, President Buchanan just in the rear, behind whom stands Judge Douglas with *the hat*. At his left stood Mrs. Lincoln, and near the speaker stood the eloquent Senator Baker.

It is said that Mr. Lincoln addressed an audience of about thirty thousand people, but only one-third of the throng united in the general applause that attended the rendition of the address. The reason for this is quite apparent, if the statement of some reporters be true, namely, that there were as many or more disunionists in the city that day, than loyal citizens.

Mr. Lincoln read his address with deliberation and a voice that carried his words to the remotest limit of the turbulent crowd. Owing to the length of the document, nearly an hour must have been consumed in its delivery. It was given prompt and extended publicity, and read with absorbing interest. As a whole, the inaugural message was and is regarded as a masterpiece of almost unparalleled merit. As a state paper it has few equals in all the domain of American and English history. It is scarcely excelled by the great Magna Charta, a document wrested from King John by the English barons at Runnymede, June 19, 1215. Also, it will compare favorably with our

Declaration of Independence. My young readers will recall this, as the product of the fertile brain of Thomas Jefferson, and adopted by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776.

The President's written message is certainly a remarkable paper, and those who have not read it should avail themselves of the first opportunity of doing so. The entire address is too lengthy for publication in this volume; for it is not the purpose of this writer to print entire or make extended extracts from the public addresses or state papers of President Lincoln, however meritorious they may be.

Permit a few extracts from the great document to suffice. After a few preliminary remarks Mr. Lincoln proceeded as follows: "I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement. Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and peace and personal security are endangered. There never has been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.

"Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so."

He recites the resolution of the state convention which nominated him, in proof of what he has previously stated, and then proceeds: "I now reiterate the sentiments; and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property,

peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all states when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"I take the official oath today with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules."

Concluding paragraphs of this almost incomparable address are as follows: "Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of this country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face; and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical question as to terms of intercourse are again upon you.

"If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side of the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patience, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.

"You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." Thus endeth the great address.

"The habitual tone of this remarkable paper is deprecatory, not to say apologetic," said Horace Greeley, speaking of the address. "Mr. Lincoln evidently composed it under the fixed impression that 'the South' needed but to be disabused of her impressions and apprehensions of Northern hostility to restore her to loyalty and the whole land to peace. If she can be made to feel that the new rule does not desire to meddle with slavery in the states which cherish it, but will hunt and return fugitive slaves to the extent of its ability, then secession will be given up, and the country restored to peace and harmony. That certainly is an amiable view of the situation, but it was not justified by a close study and thorough comprehension of our recent political history."

Mr. Greeley goes on to state: "The strong point of the inaugural is its frank and plump denial of the fundamental secession dogma that our Union is a league, formed in 1787."

"The Union is older than the Constitution," says Mr. Lincoln truly and pertinently. Had the Constitution been rejected by the states, the Union would nevertheless have subsisted. Ours is "one country"—made so by God and His providence, revealed through the whole of its history; "its more perfect Union" is but a step in its development—not the cause of its existence. Hence, secession is not "the dissolution of a league,"

as Mr. Jefferson Davis asserts, but a treasonable, though futile, effort to disorganize and destroy a nation.

Mr. Lincoln's rejection of disunion as physically impossible, as forbidden by the geography and topography of our country, is a statesmanlike conception that had not before been so clearly apprehended or so forcibly set forth.

Mr. Lincoln fondly regarded his inaugural as a resistless proffering of the olive branch to the South; the conspirators everywhere interpreted it as a challenge to war. And when the former had taken the oath, solemnly administered to him by Chief Justice Taney, the two Presidents wended their way back, duly escorted, to the White House, at whose door Mr. Buchanan bade Mr. Lincoln a cordial good-bye, retiring to the residence of his friend and benefactor, whom he had made United States District Attorney." (From Greeley's "American Conflict," Pages 427-7.)

It was to be hoped that the President's inaugural address would be received in the same friendly spirit in which it was given; but such was not the case. To the earnest, solicitous appeal for reconciliation, from the soul of the noble Lincoln, the South made no response. The attitude of the press in Southern and border states was antagonistic from the start. Hear what the Baltimore "Sun" says: "The inaugural, as a whole, breathes the spirit of mischief. It has only a conditional conservatism, that is, the lack of ability or some inexpediency to do what it would. It assumes despotic authority, and intimates the design to execute that authority to any extent of war and bloodshed, qualified only by the withholding of the requisite means to the end by the American people. The argumentation of the address is puerile. Indeed, it has no quality entitled to the dignity of an argument. It is a shaky specimen of special pleading, by way of justifying the unrighteous character and deeds of the fanaticism which, lifted into power,

may be guilty, as it is capable, of any atrocities. There is no Union spirit in the address; it is sectional and mischievous, and studiously withholds any sign of recognition of that equality of the states upon which the Union can alone be maintained. If it means what it says, it is the knell and requiem of the Union, and the death of hope."

Other supposedly loyal papers in Northern States spoke in the same vein. The editor of the Philadelphia "Pennsylvanian" wrote as follows: "Mr. Lincoln stands today where he stood on the 6th of November last, on the Chicago platform. He has not receded a single hair's breadth. He has appointed a Cabinet in which there is no slave-holder, a thing that has never before happened since the foundation of the government; and in which there are but two nominally Southern men, and both bitter Republicans of the radical dye. Let the border states ignominiously submit the abolition rule of the Lincoln administration, if they like; but don't let the miserable submissionists pretend to be deceived. Make any base or cowardly excuse but this." Many similar editorials in the North could be cited. Thus we see how Mr. Lincoln was "wounded in the house of his friends."

When it was evident to all intelligent readers that in the South an organized effort, pernicious and virulent, was being made for the dismemberment of the Union, the President should have had, as he deserved, the loyal, the unqualified support of every patriot in America. That such was not the case soon became apparent, and painfully so. No President since the day of Washington had been the subject of such misrepresentation and villification as was the noble Lincoln. To this treatment, which was often insult added to injury, he made no resentment, but often offered up a silent prayer, probably, as did his Divine Lord, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

In about a week after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, on March 12, 1861, two commissioners by the names of John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford, arrived from the South. They manifested by their presence and method of communication to Governor Seward a spirit of assurance, not to say bravado, that might characterize the arrival in Washington of duly accredited commissioners and ministers plenipotentiaries from the Court of Saint James. Read their unbridled audacity. I will give it in part:

Washington, March 12, 1861.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State of the United States.

"Sir: The undersigned have been duly accredited by the Government of the Confederate States of America as commissioners to the Government of the United States and, in pursuance of their instructions, have now the honor to acquaint you with that fact and to make known, through you, to the President of the United States the object of their presence in this Capital."

Then they proceeded to announce, what Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had promulgated thirty years before, that any state, in the exercise of its prerogative, had the inherent right to secede from the Union, and form a sovereignty of its own whenever, in the judgment of its citizens, the interests of said state would be best served thereby. It did not take Uncle Sam many months or years to prove to the South that through such a dogma as that, a hole could be shot, sufficiently large to allow a coach and four to be driven. Hear further what these representatives of the so-called Confederate States had to say: "Seven states of the late Federal Union having, in the exercise of the inherent right of every free people to change or reform their political institutions, and through

conventions of their people, withdrawn from the United States, and resumed the attributes of sovereign power, delegated to it, have formed a government of their own. The Confederate States constitute an independent nation, de facto and de jure, and possess a government perfect in all its parts, and endowed with all the means of self-support."

Then, after expressing a wish that a speedy adjustment of questions growing out of the political separation upon such terms of amity as the respectable interests of the two nations may render necessary, the commissioners proceeded to say: "We, the undersigned, are instructed to make to the Government of the United States overtures for the opening of negotiations, assuring the Government of the United States that the President, Congress and people of the Confederate States earnestly desire a peaceable solution of these great questions; that it is neither their interest nor wish to make any demand which is not founded in strict justice, nor do any act to injure their late confederates."

Then they request Governor Seward, as Secretary of State, to appoint a day as early as possible, wherein they may present to the President of the United States "the credentials which they bear and the objects of the mission with which they are charged," concluding with,

"We are, very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

JOHN FORSYTH,

MARTIN J. CRAWFORD."

Mr. John Forsyth, of the State of Alabama, and Mr. Martin J. Crawford, of the State of Virginia, on the 11th inst. through the kind office of a distinguished Senator submitted to the Secretary of State their desire for an unofficial interview. The request was, on the 12th inst. upon exclusive considerations,

respectfully declined. Governor Seward recites most of the communication from the Southern commissioners, and then proceeds to say: "The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union to which his attention has been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union and the preservation of liberty and the security, peace, welfare, happiness and aggrandizement of the American people.

"The Secretary of State therefore avows to Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently and confidently for the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unnatural, and so unusual, not to say irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of those states, in cooperation with their brethren in the other states, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there be any need thereof, as the Federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled.

"It is, however, the purpose of the Secretary of State not to engage in any discussion of those subjects, but simply to set forth his reasons for declining to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford."

The Secretary of State then alludes to the policy of the new administration as enunciated by President Lincoln in his inaugural address of March 4, a copy of which was enclosed to the Southern commissioners, with the request that they give the same their earnest and careful consideration.

The Secretary proceeded then to remark: "A simple reference will be sufficient to satisfy those gentlemen that the Secretary of State, guided by the principles therein announced, is prevented altogether from admitting or assuming that the states referred to by them have, in law or fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in the manner described by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, or in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a National convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course, the Secretary of State cannot act upon the assumption, or in any way admit, that the so-called Confederate States constitute a foreign power, with whom diplomatic relations ought to be established."

The Secretary proceeded to state that under these circumstances and others that might be named, he is unable, in the exercise of his official duties, "to comply with the request of Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford to appoint a day on which they may present the evidences of their authority and the objects of their visit to the President of the United States. On the contrary, he is obliged to state to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he has no authority, nor is he at liberty, to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them."

The Secretary of State proceeded further to say that while he could have adopted these conclusions and submitted same to the commissioners without making any reference of the subject to the Executive, yet in the spirit of candor and perfect

respect to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford, that he has cheerfully submitted the paper to the President, who coincides in the view it expresses and sanctions the decisions of the Secretary in declining official intercourse with Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford.

One historian remarks that "Governor Seward's reply, though pacific in temper, and evidently animated by the hope that hostilities may yet be avoided, is eminently frank and explicit."

The President was well advised, and had been all along, as to the activities of the South in their evident and extended preparations for war; yet he indulged the hope, as did his legal associate and Cabinet members, that better counsel would prevail, and the seceding states resume their former allegiance to the National Government. If at this juncture the citizens of the South had taken this sensible and friendly view of the situation, even a day before the actual precipitation of war, what horrors, what devastation, what vast expenditures of treasury and blood would have been avoided. But sad the saying, and true as sad, that "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." The commissioners from the South seem to have been unaffected by, or at least indifferent to, the logical statesmanlike presentation of the far-reaching, momentous questions under consideration, and so ably discussed by Governor Seward; for in a month they returned to their Southland, declaring in a letter they left behind, they now "accepted the gage of battle."

Up to this time there seems to have been no settled policy of the new administration as to its non-interference, nor as to its coercive attitude towards the South; but in the mind of the great Lincoln there was, doubtless, a fixed determination that the provisions of the Constitution, as to the unity of the states, should be fully maintained, and the Federal laws executed at all hazards.

It is quite true that the President did not receive the co-operation from eminent statesmen, not those even of his own party, that he desired and had a right to expect. Prominent Democrats, notably Senator Douglas, were opposed to coercion in any form; while Edward Everett, the leading and most eloquent Republican member of the United States Senate, "preached love, forgiveness and Union."

The members of Congress had no adequate conception of the gravity of the situation, for it adjourned in the Spring of '61 without making any preparation for the tremendous, impending crisis.

During the five or six weeks interval between the date of the inaugural and that of the attack on Fort Sumter, the Confederates were seizing on "all the arsenals, forts, custom-houses, postoffices, ships, ordnance and material of war belonging to the United States within the seceding state." The South, with untiring vigilance and immeasurable energy, pursued its work and preparation for the impending conflict, while the people of the North were scarcely awake to the awful calamity that would soon be upon them.

I wish to digress here, for a few moments, to place Judge Douglas and his pre-war attitude, right, before the reading public. While the learned statesman used his great influence and forensic powers, during the Winter session of Congress in '60 and '61, and also in the extra session that followed, against any coercive measures towards the South; yet when war was actually precipitated by the bombardment of Fort Sumter, and other acts of irreconcilable hostility on the part of the South were shown, the judge changed his attitude, and "took nobly and heartily the side of his whole country." History records the fact that he sought an early interview with President Lincoln, his life-long political antagonist, and tendered his services to him and the country, in any way they

could be made available. Of course this unexpected change in sentiment and expression of complete allegiance to the administration and the country were sources of unalloyed gratification to the President. In the preceding session of Congress, in the bitter debates from members from the South, and in which Northern Democrats were active participants, the impression had gone out into all sections of the country, North as well as South, that the great Democratic party was opposed to war, no matter what the outcome of the dissension might be. President Lincoln was aware of this unfortunate and unhappy condition, and gladly accepted the proffered service of the judge to neutralize or correct the said impression.

At President Lincoln's request, Judge Douglas consented to travel extensively as possible in the Northern States, in the interests of the Union, and urge citizens everywhere, Democrats and Republicans alike, to rally to the standards of their country. It had an electrical effect. He traveled first through his own state.

He spoke from the rear platform of his car, at short stops, in the larger cities of Illinois, and then hurried to other states. His messages were similar and uniform in all places. In substance they were: "There are but two parties now in our great Republic, those that are for, and those who are against their country. I can assure you, my fellow countrymen, that the Nation is safe in Abraham Lincoln's hands." This proclamation from the Democratic party's idol, and from one hitherto supposedly anti-war in sentiment, received extended publicity in the Northern press, and was hailed everywhere as a reassuring expression of great worth to our distracted country. It was, in an eminent degree, productive of the desired results. Douglas Democrats, as well as Republicans, rallied everywhere to the defense of their country, shouldering their muskets and marching to the front. My oldest brother, and subsequently

his three younger brothers (the writer included) enrolled their names among their country's defenders. They all had been reared as young Democrats, but now considered their country's honor and perpetuity paramount to any party considerations or party interests.

I was at that time, though just out of my teens, as I have been during the sixty-four years since, a close observer of public men and public measures, and I am free to express, what is to me, a candid and mature conviction, shared by thousands of others, that the great war of '61 to '65 could never, or would ever, have been carried to a glorious consummation without the influence and interposition, of the great Democratic statesman from the great Commonwealth of Illinois. Permit me to express another opinion, namely, that from this time to the date of his death, a couple of months later, Judge Douglas and the name of Judge Douglas, was held in as high repute and honor, or nearly so, as was that of the immortal Lincoln.

Permit a further digression: At the time of the statesman's death (June 3, 1861), I was a student in a select school, at Ottawa, Ill. The news of the "giant's" death at the latter named city came as a great shock, and expressions of deep grief of the state and country's irreparable loss were everywhere heard. The judge had spoken in the city (where I had previously heard him in the memorable "Lincoln-Douglas" debates) a few weeks before, in the interests of his stricken country, and seemingly in the best of health. Everyone mourned his premature departure. The Nation, itself, was convulsed in grief at the reception of the sad news.

Memorial services for the late Senator were held in Ottawa, at which I was present. Orators, Democratic and Republican, vied with each other in expressions of the high esteem and honor in which the illustrious dead was held. A large banner was stretched from the court-house across the street, bearing the words: "He is not dead, but sleepeth."

Thus lived and died the most distinguished citizen, with one exception, of his native state. Peace be to his memory and ashes.

There was supposed, at the time, to be a little unwritten history connecting the great statesman with the new administration. Eminent men at the Capital were free to express their belief that President Lincoln was about to offer, or had offered the judge, a major-general's commission in the army for the great service he had rendered the country during the three months preceding his death. It was also asserted that Douglas was devoting his spare time in the assiduous study of military tactics preparatory to his taking command. It was true in this case, as it has been in others, that "Man proposes, but God disposes."

Let us now resume the subject of the bombardment of Fort Sumter and its surrender. Under the old administration this fort had been placed in command of Major Anderson, who was supported by a small company of soldiers. Mr. Lincoln was confronted with grave difficulties from this direction at once. He had scarcely been inaugurated before receiving a letter from the major, describing the perils of the situation, and remarking that in his opinion it would require a force of 20,000 men to properly reinforce the garrison in season to save him and his brave soldiers from starvation. It will be remembered that the Confederate forces had been busy the previous winter in planting batteries in every direction around the fort, making ingress or egress practically impossible as well as extremely dangerous.

The President at once presented the matter to General Scott, who was then in general command of the American forces. The general apprised the President that the government did not have such a body at its disposal, neither could it raise them before the garrison would be out of supplies. The President

was thus placed in a sad dilemma. He did not desire to precipitate any trouble with the rebels if he could avoid it, for in his inaugural address he had informed them that there would be no war unless they began it. He and General Scott did not think it best to attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter then, but did think it wise to reinforce Fort Pickens, which he soon proceeded to do.

On the 20th of March an aide of General Scott visited Charleston and had an interview with Governor Pickens and General Beauregard, with reference, it was said, to the terms on which Fort Sumter should be evacuated, if evacuated at all; but the next day the Cabinet, after a lengthy and exciting session, determined that Fort Sumter was not to be surrendered without a struggle.

A few days later a confidential agent of the President visited Major Anderson and was apprised by him that their scanty supply of provisions would not last the garrison for a period longer than the middle of April. The government soon determined to send the needed provisions to Major Anderson; "peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must." Swift ocean steamers were hurriedly loaded with provisions, munitions, etc., and on the 6th of April left New York and other Northern ports for the South under sealed orders. At the same time a lieutenant from Fort Sumter arrived in Washington, bearing a message from Major Anderson that his supplies of fresh food from Charleston had been cut off by the Confederates, and unless he was soon relieved, would be starved into surrender.

The lieutenant was informed that their needed supplies would soon be forthcoming and, hastening back to Charleston, he gave formal notice to Governor Pickens that "the fort would be provisioned at all hazards." Governor Pickens "got busy," as was to be expected. General Beauregard was at once informed, and he, in turn, wired the facts to headquarters at

Montgomery, Alabama, and asked for instructions. The Confederates had received information of the sailing from New York of the food-laden vessels, and were desirous of getting possession of Fort Sumter before their arrival.

On April 10 General Beauregard received orders from the Confederate Secretary of War "to demand the prompt surrender of the fort, and, in case of refusal, to reduce it."

The demand was accordingly made in due form the same night, at 2 a. m. on April 11, "and courteously declined."

"But," according to Horace Greeley's statement, "in consequence of additional instructions from Montgomery, based on a suggestion of Major Anderson to his summoners, that he would very soon be starved out if not relieved, General Beauregard at 11 a. m. again addressed Major Anderson, asking him to state at what time he would evacuate Fort Sumter, if unmolested." The Major's reply was that he would do so at noon on the 15th, "should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my government, or additional supplies." This answer was unsatisfactory to the Confederate general, and at 3:20 a. m., of the 12th, Major Anderson was notified that "fire would be opened on Fort Sumter in one hour."

One writer describes the bombardment as follows: "Punctual to the appointed moment, the roar of a mortar from Sullivan's Island, quickly followed by the rushing shriek of a shell, gave notice to the world that the era of compromise and diplomacy was ended, that the slave-holders' Confederacy had appealed from sterile negotiations to the 'last argument' of aristocracies as well as kings." The same writer continues: "Soon the thunder of fifty breech-loading cannon, in one grand volley, followed by the crashing and crumbling of brick, stone and mortar around and above them, apprised the little garrison that their stay in those quarters must necessarily be short.

Unless speedily relieved by a large and powerful fleet, such as the Union did not then possess, the defense was, from the outset, utterly hopeless."

Another writer, speaking of the event, says: "The rebel batteries began the bombardment on Friday, the 12th of April, at half past four in the morning. The major took it with the utmost coolness, and made every preparation for the safety of his men before he allowed any return fire to be made, then defiantly ran up the glorious old Stars and Stripes, and left the enemy to bang away, while he made preparations for breakfast. At half past six the garrison all partook of this meal, which consisted mostly of salt pork, as leisurely as though nothing was the matter. After breakfast Major Anderson divided his men into three reliefs; each relief was to work four hours at a time. All this time the rebels had been pouring shot and shell into the fort." ("The Children's Life of Abraham Lincoln," M. Louise Putnam, Page 139.) In a half-hour thereafter, it is said, the garrison was ready to reply. During the following four hours the firing was kept up with such regularity and rigidity that the rebels thought the major must have been secretly reinforced. During these hours the scene in the fort became terrific and alarming. The shot and shells from the enemy's guns were working havoc. The hot shot soon set everything inflammable on fire, nearly suffocating the men with the smoke and heat, and incapacitating them for effective work. "Thirty-two pounders tore up the ground at their feet, covering them with mud and earth, and a ninety-six pounder came bursting in just above the magazine." During the first day, when the heat was most intense, someone discovered through the port-holes several of the vessels of the fleet beyond the bar, which the President had sent. These vessels were laden with provisions for the garrison, but the commander made no attempt to supply the fort. Had he done so, it would have involved a

heavy loss of life, and probably to no purpose. The commander got in communication with Major Anderson by signals, the dipping of flags, to which the major responded by the same signal, though the lives of his men were greatly imperiled in the performance of this duty.

It is said the commander of the fleet "remained out of the range of the enemy's fire till after the surrender, when he returned as he came." On Friday, about noon, it was discovered that all the cartridges had been used up. Quickly, the soldiers stripped off their shirt sleeves, tore up their sheets and blankets and began to make cartridges for dear life. The bombardment continued with unabated intensity. The heat became almost unbearable, the soldiers covering their mouths with wet cloths and throwing themselves on the ground, faces downward, in order to breathe. At this juncture, Major Anderson, fearing the possibility of his magazines being surrounded with flames, gave orders that the powder, ninety-six barrels in number, should be rolled into the sea. This was done at the peril of the men's lives.

This unequal contest was continued for thirty-four hours. One writer describes the condition of the fort at this time, as follows: "But few cartridges were left, and the guns were fired slowly; nor could more cartridges be made, on account of the sparks flying in every part of the works. A gun was fired every now and then, only to let the fleet and the people of the town know that the fort had not been silenced. The cannonaders could not see to aim, much less where they hit."

When it was known to the enemy that the barracks were on fire, the batteries directed upon Fort Sumter increased their cannonading to a rapidity greater than had been attained before, it was said. On Saturday afternoon, the second day of the bombardment, the Confederates were satisfied that the fire at the fort was only maintained as a matter of pride, and that

the exhausted garrison had all and more than they could do in attempts to extinguish the flames that had burned their quarters. At this juncture, a pretended brigadier-general of the Confederacy, L. T. Wigfall by name, approached the fortress in a skiff; and on his arrival, and showing himself at an embrasure, he waved a white flag, handkerchief on the point of his sword, and demanded a surrender of the fort. After some parley with a lieutenant and corporal, and finally with Major Anderson, by all of whom the demand was denied, General Wigfall retired. Shortly he was succeeded by other representatives from General Beauregard. These were Ex-Senator Chestnut, Ex-Representative Roger A. Pryor and W. Porcher Miles. They made the same demand as had Wigfall. The noble Anderson realized the futility of further resistance, in consequence of the exhausted condition of his men and supplies, and yielded to their demand; but only on terms that he dictated, viz.: that when he "evacuated the fort, his garrison should retain their arms, with personal and company property, and march out with the honors of war, and be conveyed to any port in loyal states he might indicate." To all these demands, General Beauregard readily acceded. Considering the hopeless condition of the little garrison, these terms were considered highly honorable to Major Anderson, and scarcely less so to General Beauregard.

The Confederates were disposed to make satisfactory concession, it was thought, in order, not only to stop further expenditure of ammunition at the earliest moment, but to obtain possession of the coveted fort in as effective a state as possible. As the weary soldiers could not embark that night, they extinguished the fire still raging and laid themselves down for much needed rest till morning.

The next day, the Confederate steamboat Isabel came down to take them off. When the baggage, consisting of all company

and private property, had been removed, the gunners proceeded to salute their dear old flag with fifty guns; the Stars and Stripes being lowered with cheers as the last gun was fired. Unfortunately and unhappily at the firing of the last gun, a premature explosion occurred whereby a gunner was killed, and a few seriously injured. This was the sole and only death at the fort during the bombardment. The name of this hero will go down in history as the first, I think, who sacrificed his life on the altar of his country in that mighty civil conflict. No loss of life, I understand, occurred among the Confederates during the entire engagement.

The men marched out of the fort that Sunday afternoon "with colors flying and drums beating" and were taken on board the Isabel, and shortly transferred to the Federal steamship Baltic, awaiting them off the bar, and thus taken to New York, whence Major Anderson dispatched to his Government this brief and manly report:

Steamship Baltic, Off Sandy Hook,
April 18th, 1861.

The Honorable S. Cameron,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

Sir: Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazines surrounded by flames, and its door closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th instant, prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched

out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major, First Artillery.

Thus began and closed the first engagement of the civil war—a war that was destined to last for four years, and become, in some respects, the most sanguine conflict of modern times.

Further, it may be said, the civil war entailed a loss of life from all causes, on the Union side of 349,944, and on the Confederate side of perhaps one-half that number, though no accurate statistics of Southern losses are available. There were mustered into the service of the United States, 2,778,304, and about 600,000 into the Confederate service.

The expenditure in money by the United States in the prosecution of the war exceeded three thousand million dollars, while the expense or cost to the South for the same purpose must have been negligible in comparison therewith. For, as I understand it, the payment of their bonds, from the sale of which they derived funds for the payment of their war expenses, was repudiated.

These statistics as to the casualties and enlistments of the United States soldiers are taken from the adjutant-general's office at Washington, so they are substantially correct. I may allude to these matters again before this narrative closes. I merely speak of it now to show how little and inadequate was the conception of the people in '61, as to the magnitude and character of the great crisis that was just before them.

Before closing the account of the reduction of Fort Sumter, I wish to speak of the effect the news of its surrender had

upon the minds of the Southern people. As soon as the news was flashed to different sections of the Confederate states, thousands came flocking into Charleston to help swell the chorus of universal rejoicing over the fall of Sumter. It was said that "Charleston herself was drunk with excitement and joyous exultation." The Confederates had spent five months in the careful preparation and establishment of their batteries around and adjacent to Sumter; and in addition, General Beauregard had a force of 7,000 men, and Major Anderson only 70 (100 to 1), yet the South regarded the victory as an event with scarcely a parallel in all the annals of modern warfare.

The stock of General Beauregard went up about a thousand per cent. They considered his victory a heroic deed, equal to if not surpassing the military achievements of Cyrus or Xerxes, Alexander or Hannibal, Caesar or Napoleon. They were inspired with the thought that the subjugation of the entire North was a matter of short effort and of early attainment; and that in a few months at most their Confederacy would be established on a solid and enduring foundation, with human slavery as its chief corner stone.

How chimerical their thoughts, let the historian record.

CHAPTER II.

THE CALL TO ARMS

WHEN the news of the fall of Sumter was flashed over prairie and plain, over mountain and valley, resounding through and dying away on the Pacific slope, a tempest of rage and indignation swept through the Nation, the like of which had not been witnessed in America since the attack on Bunker Hill by the British eighty-six years before. The sentiment of the Democratic party in the North had been somewhat sympathetic towards the South hitherto, but the news of the insult to our flag, involved in the bombardment and reduction of Fort Sumter, unified their love of country and evoked the "greatest conceivable outburst of patriotic passion" everywhere.

The slogan of Judge Douglas that "there were but two parties now, one for, and the other against the country," was enthusiastically adopted by Democrats and Republicans alike; and young men, of both parties, rallied thereafter, by the thousands and hundreds of thousands, to the defense of their former happy, but now stricken, country.

On Monday, April 15, 1861, the day following the evacuation of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, announcing that the laws of the United States had been grossly violated and opposed, and the proper execution thereof so obstructed in the seven seceding states, naming them, "by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial procedure," he, the President of the United States, called on the governors of the various states of the Union to furnish militia from their commonwealths, amounting to

75,000 men, which he thought would be necessary to quell the Southern insurrection, and cause the laws of the land to be properly executed. The proclamation was received in the free states with expressions of general approval, and the response from the governors was instantaneous and enthusiastic. Nearly all the states east of the Rocky Mountains had Republican governors and legislatures, who, one writer says, "vied with each other in offers of men, money, munitions, and everything that could be needed to vindicate the authority and maintain the integrity of the Union."

Governor Sprague of Rhode Island who was elected as a "Conservative," though generally regarded as a Democrat, not only filled the quota required of him, but, it is said, volunteered to lead it to Washington or wherever his services might be required. It is stated further that no state responded more quickly and thoroughly, and none sent her troops into the field more completely armed and equipped than did Rhode Island. An incident complimentary to the patriotism of the soldiery of the state, and rare as it was complimentary, occurred which is worthy of record. Among the privates of the regiment, was a millionaire who had made arrangements to go abroad, but regarding the call of his country paramount to any business or pleasure, cancelled his passenger ticket, and quickly enrolled his name among his country's defenders. In a remarkably short time, the regiments from the different states took their departure by rail for Washington.

The quota of regiments from the various states ran from one to 17, Ohio with 13, Pennsylvania with 16, and New York with 17, furnishing the largest number. All went well till the Sixth Massachusetts regiment reached Baltimore, April 19th. There, they were confronted by an angry mob of secessionists, wherein four soldiers were killed and 17 severely wounded. The killed were left behind, but the wounded

were taken on to Washington with their regiment. When the wounded were taken in stretchers from the cars that night, a feeling of intense and frenzied excitement was created in the Capital; and when, the next day, news of the dastardly act had been flashed to all sections of the country, a storm of indignation arose, scarcely less intense than was manifested at reception of the news of Sumter's fall.

The next day, quite early, a delegation of Baltimore citizens called on Lincoln at the White House. They came to enter a protest against any more troops being brought through their city. After some deliberation, Mr. Lincoln dismissed them, at the same time sending a note to the Maryland officials with the suggestion that troops might be marched around Baltimore. The President made a passing remark to the delegation, as they withdrew, to the effect that if he granted them the concession demanded they would be back the next day, demanding that none should be marched around it: Sure enough, Lincoln's anticipations were soon verified. That afternoon, as well as later, committees interviewed the President again, protesting and declaring that "Maryland soil should not be polluted by the feet of soldiers marching against the South." The reply of the Executive was brief and to the point. "We must have troops," he said, "and as they can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it." Subsequently, a few secession sympathizers called on the President and informed him that if any more troops should be marched through Maryland, 75,000 persons would contest their passage. They also volunteered the suggestion that there should be a cessation of hostilities till Congress should be assembled. The President's reply was quite laconic. He said that there would be no cessation of hostilities till the rebellion was crushed, and he presumed there was room enough on the soil of Maryland to bury 75,000 men. That was the last he

heard of Maryland's protestations to the President.

On the 20th of April, one day after the Baltimore riot, General Benjamin F. Butler, commanding the Eighth Massachusetts, arrived at Perryville, on the east bank of the Susquehanna River, about fifty miles northeast of Baltimore. Here he found his course obstructed by burned bridges and the lack of cars on the west side of the river. The ingenuity of General Butler was equal to the occasion. He did not propose to be stopped by such impediments in his effort to reach Washington. Seeing the commodious steamer, *Maryland*, near, he commandeered her, embarked his soldiers thereon and steamed down the Chesapeake Bay, arriving at Annapolis, the political capital of Maryland, early the next morning. This city is about thirty miles south of Baltimore and the same distance east of Washington.

He found Annapolis in the throes of rebellion, and the railroad leading to the National Capital dismantled and partially occupied in the interests of secession. Here he found the old frigate "*Constitution*," and without a crew. It was in imminent peril of capture by the enemy. The valiant general took immediate possession of the frigate, and the next day landed his forces unopposed, and took possession of the city.

Here he was soon reinforced by the Seventh New York regiment, composed of the flower of the young chivalry of the state. They had been transported directly from Philadelphia by the steamer *Boston*. As the citizens of Annapolis did not desire, or dare, to sell anything to the Union soldiers, General Butler ordered the steamer *Maryland* to return to Perryville for the needed supplies, for munitions, and for still further reinforcements.

Governor Hicks of Maryland sent a protest to General Butler against any landing at that place or any other in the state, his reason being that the Legislature had been called to

meet at Annapolis that week. The general replied, suggesting that if he could obtain means of transportation to Washington, "he would gladly vacate the Capital prior to the sitting of the Legislature, and not be under the painful necessity of accommodating your beautiful city while the Legislature is in session." Several other regiments having previously arrived, General Butler on the 24th put his column in motion, his own regiment in advance, and the New York Seventh closely following. They repaired the line of railroad as they advanced. A dismantled engine was found on the way, which they quickly refitted and put to immediate use.

The weather was intensely hot for the month of April, and the soldiers were hungry and faint for want of food and sleep, for they had had but little of either since they left Philadelphia. No food was available by purchase, and they would not take it without, so it is said, they marched hungrily on, building bridges and laying rails by turn, throughout the day and following night. The next day, they were joined by the Seventy-first New York regiment, and together they marched to the Annapolis junction, where they were met by cars from Washington. In these they proceeded on the 25th to that city, the New York Seventh being in advance. Here they received a royal welcome by the citizens of the Capital city, only one-half of whom, it was said, were loyal to the flag.

The arrival of these soldiers was hailed with added delight, owing to the fact that the city, for a week, had been isolated from the North, and surrounded on all sides by malignant foes. There was a volunteer force, composed mostly of sojourners temporarily visiting the Capital, under Col. Cassius M. Clay, who stood on guard during those dark days and darker nights.

The coming of these volunteers seemed providential, at least very opportune; for the small force of regulars under

the command of General Scott had constituted, up to this time, the entire defensive strength of the Nation's Capital. When the governor of Maryland heard of the safe arrival of so many Union troops in Washington, and also learned of the Union sentiment of citizens in the northern and western parts of his own state, where there were but few blacks held in slavery, he modified his anti-Union convictions somewhat, and so wrote to his Legislature. The members of the Legislature, while largely secessionists in sentiment, consented to a modification of their former views as frequently expressed, by the passage of a resolution that Maryland should remain neutral during the contest between the two sections of the country. However, they added, "We sympathize with the South in the struggle for their rights, for the sake of humanity, we are for peace and reconciliation, and solemnly protest against this war, and will take no part in it." Then in keeping with the motto that "a man convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still," they proceeded to say, to their eternal shame, that "Maryland desires and consents to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate states." I will quote no farther.

It is said that the secessionists, in and around Baltimore, especially those who tried to dominate public sentiment for the South, concealed for a time, the paucity of their numbers. It was ascertained later that they did not represent one-third of the white population of the state, and less than one-fourth in all that portion of the state lying north and west of Baltimore. Home guards of Unionists were formed and Union meetings were held in different parts of the state, even in Baltimore. Thus patriotic sentiment began to assert itself, and the state was saved to the Union. This was accelerated by the bravery of General Butler and his valiant cohorts, as I will proceed to show.

The soldiers in and around Washington became restless and anxious for the fray, especially those under General Butler's command, and on May 5, the general pushed forward two regiments from Annapolis junction to the Relay House, eight or ten miles southwest of Baltimore. Thus the communication between that city and Fredericktown, 50 miles west, was soon controlled.

On the 9th, a force of 1300 men from Perryville arrived at Locust Point, Baltimore; and under cover of guns of the Harriet Lane, quietly, it is said, began to open the railroad route through that city to the Relay House, and thence on to Washington. No opposition in this daring undertaking from the erstwhile bloody Confederates was encountered.

The fiery Baltimoreans could assail the defenseless soldiers of the Massachusetts regiment with deadly effect, but when confronted with the pointed bayonets of the boys of "Ben Butler Bold," well—they were conspicuous by their absence. They had retreated to a nearby and safe seclusion, no soldier following them, thus illustrating the proverb of King Solomon when he said: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." General Butler, on the 13th, took permanent military possession of Baltimore, without opposition, while a force of troops from Harrisburg advanced to Cockeysville, about ten miles north of Baltimore, and reopened the entire line of the Northern Central railroad, up to the Pennsylvania border.

Thus the backbone of the rebellion in the state of Maryland was effectually broken, and largely through the undaunted bravery of the Massachusetts general, Butler.

It is hardly conceivable and believable that, within so short a period of time as three weeks, Governor Hicks should undergo such a change in sentiment; but such was the case, for on the 14th he issued a proclamation calling for four regiments of Maryland volunteers, in response to President Lincoln's

requisition for troops. All communication through Baltimore and Maryland, and also through the free states to Washington being restored, the safety of the Capital was now assured.

It is said that "regiment after regiment poured into the city by almost every train, until by the end of May, not less than 50,000 men, raw and undisciplined indeed, but mainly of the best material for soldiers, held the line of the Potomac, or guarded the approaches to the Capital."

I have thus written, perhaps at too great length, of the Maryland rebellion to show the difficulties that menaced and confronted the administration at its very incipency.

At the time of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the convention of the state of Virginia was in session. A majority of the delegates elected thereto were Union men. But the news of the falling of Sumter made a radical change of sentiment. If the firing on Fort Sumter unified the sentiment of the North, Union sentiment, it also unified the disunion sentiment of the South. In the convention, many of the Union delegates, perhaps a majority of them, went over to the original disunion minority, and on the 17th, passed the ordinance withdrawing the state from the Union. President Lincoln, in speaking of this event, stated in his terse way, "Whether this change in sentiment was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or by their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known."

In order to give character and legality to their act, in adopting the ordinance of secession, the convention submitted it to a popular vote, naming the 23rd of May as the day for the election. On the day following the submission of the ordinance to a vote, April 18, the Virginia troops marched to Harper's Ferry and seized its arsenal. The President, in speaking of this precipitous movement, informed Congress that

"though the Virginia convention had submitted the ordinance of secession to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day nearly a month in the future, they immediately commenced acting as if the state was already out of the Union." He goes on to say that they had seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and also the navy yard at Norfolk. He further states that they "received, perhaps invited, large bodies of troops from the so-called seceding states." The state proceeded to send men to the Confederate congress at Montgomery, Alabama, and finally secured the transfer of the insurrectionary government to their Capital at Richmond.

Owing to the magnitude and colossal proportions the rebellion was now assuming, the President deemed it wise to call for additional troops, both for defensive and aggressive warfare. So on May 3 he called for 42,000 three-year volunteers and 18,000 seamen to the navy service. This demand was quickly responded to.

It was thought by many that the President was induced to make this additional call for troops so early, owing to the fact that a deep-laid plot had been discovered whereby the secessionists in and around Washington, "aided by Virginia, hoped to fire the city, seize the President and cabinet, and all the machinery of Government."

Their plans were quickly and easily frustrated, but the President was not disposed to take additional risks, and hence the second call for volunteers. He also saw the necessity for quick action, owing to the fact that Jefferson Davis had answered Mr. Lincoln's prior call for 75,000 men by a proclamation ordering the enlistment of 100,000.

On July 4, 1861, in pursuance to President Lincoln's proclamation, the Thirty-seventh Congress assembled. The patriotic enthusiasm that filled and thrilled the hearts of loyal citizens everywhere after Sumter's fall was still at flood

tide. The members of Congress were animated with a paramount desire to aid President Lincoln by appropriate legislation in every way possible, to the end that the incipient rebellion might soon be squashed and order restored, if possible. They were not insensible to the fact, however, that our forces would soon be confronted by an enemy in every way worthy of our respect as to valor, and that the conflict might be long and sanguinary. The early hope indulged by some, even after the fall of Sumter, that the South might discover their gross error and return to their former allegiance to our common country, was now dissipated.

The Confederates entertained the belief, evidently, that recent victories in Charleston harbor, at Harper's Ferry and at Norfolk navy yard were pre-ordained, and that the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by the North would be a matter of early attainment.

The members of the Thirty-seventh Congress were men of exceptional ability, in the main, possessing large experience in statecraft. The free states had the unanimous representation of Republican senators, with the exception of five. The names of the more prominent of these Republican senators, with whose public history I am quite familiar, I will here record. They were Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; James W. Grimes and James Harlan, of Iowa, very able men, whom I have seen and heard; James H. Lane, of Kansas; Lott M. Morrill and William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan; John P. Hale, of New Hampshire; Benj. F. Wade, Salmon P. Chase and John Sherman, of Ohio; Edward D. Baker, of Oregon, an able, eloquent senator, was killed in battle, October 21st, 1861; Simon Cameron, resigned March 5th, 1861, David Wilmot succeeding him, of Pennsylvania; Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, afterward President; and James R.

Doolittle and Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin. Of course, there were many other able senators in that Congress, but I did not have the pleasure of knowing them, politically.

The members of the House of Representatives were equally able men, and largely Republican in politics. There were many Democratic members, and a few old-line Whigs. All were loyal to the flag and supporters of the administration, with few exceptions. Many of these men became noted statesmen in subsequent years. I recall the names of such representatives as Elihu B. Washburn, Owen Lovejoy and John A. Logan, of Illinois, all of whom I had the happiness of seeing (Washburn and Logan resigned to enter the army); William S. Hollman, George W. Julian, Daniel W. Voorhees and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, Julian and Colfax I had the pleasure of hearing; Samuel R. Curtis, resigned to enter the army, August 4th, '61; Wm. Vandever and James F. Wilson, of Iowa. The latter was assisted by my vote, with other Republicans, to the United States Senate, in the Iowa Legislative Assembly of 1882; Samuel C. Fessenden and Thomas A. D. Fessenden, brothers of William Pitt Fessenden; and Anson P. Morrill, of Maine. My readers will observe that there were three brothers in this Congress from the same state, the only instance of this kind in the history of our Republic, so far as my observation extends. However, there were father and son in the same Congress since then, as I recall. Also there were three Washburn brothers in one Congress, but from different states.

Massachusetts sent an entire delegation of Republicans to this Congress, eleven in number. They were, doubtless, men of respectable attainments and ability, but in no respect noted as was their illustrious senator, Charles Sumner. They were: William Windom, of Minnesota, subsequently United States Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, I believe; Francis P. Blair, of Missouri; William A. Wheeler, afterwards Vice-

President; Roscoe Conkling, Reuben Fenton and Erastus Corning, of New York; Clement L. Vallandigham, Samuel S. Cox, called Sun-set Cox; and John A. Bingham, subsequently a renowned statesman, of Ohio. It will be recalled by older readers that Lincoln banished Vallandigham across the border to the Southern Confederacy for his treasonable utterances. William D. Kelley, Galusha A. Grow, Speaker, and Thaddeus Stephens, of Pennsylvania. Thaddeus Stephens was a man of such distinguished ability as to deserve more than a passing notice.

James G. Blaine, in his great work, "20 Years in Congress," speaks of him thus: "The natural leader, who assumed his place by common consent, was Thaddeus Stephens, a man of strong peculiarities of character, able, trained and fearless. Born in Vermont, and educated at Dartmouth, he had passed all his adult years in Pennsylvania, and was thoroughly identified with the state which he served with distinction both in her own Legislature and in Congress." He further says: "To one great object of his life, the destruction of slavery and the elevation of the slave, he was supremely devoted. From the pursuit of that object nothing could deflect him. Upon no phase of it would he listen to compromise. He was learned in law and for a third of a century had held high rank at the bar of a state distinguished for great lawyers."

He further says, "He was a brilliant talker and spoke with ease and readiness. Seldom, even in the most careless moment, did a sentence escape his lips that would not bear the test of grammatical and rhetorical criticism." Mr. Blaine states further that Mr. Stephens "possessed the keenest wit, and was unmerciful in its use towards those whom he did not like." His further characterization of the great statesman was equally complimentary, but too lengthy for insertion herein. (Extracts are given by special permission from Funk & Wagnalls Co., Publishers, New York.)

This writer was a great admirer of Mr. Stephens and his illustrious career in Congress, fifty or sixty years ago; and still remembers some of his witty sayings. Permit a couple to suffice. Mr. Stephens owned some mills and factories on the north side of the Ohio River, and one night during the rebellion the Confederates crossed over and destroyed them. When the statesman heard of his loss, he smilingly remarked, "Now the Rebs have burned up my assets, and if they will only burn my liabilities, we will call it even."

During Mr. Stephens' later years in Congress, he lost the use of his legs, and had to be carried or assisted up the steps of the Capitol to the Legislative Hall. A short time before his death, he remarked to a couple of Irishmen who were carrying him, saying: "Boys, what 'will I do after you two are dead and gone?" Peace be to his memory. What a debt of gratitude the nation owes to such patriots.

Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, was an able, trusted statesman. John S. Carlisle, of Virginia, was a loyal member. There were several delegates from the various territories, from Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Washington. But of their delegates, I have no knowledge. I think they were loyal to the Union. It is pleasant to record that all of the above named territories, seven in number, are now enrolled among the sisterhood of states. My recital of the names of members of the Thirty-seventh Congress, as I recall them, is closed. I only wish I had known more of them.

My readers will remember what I before have stated, that I only speak of such Congressmen with whose public career I am more or less conversant. There was one man in that Congress of such commanding presence and ability as to deserve special mention. I refer to Roscoe Conkling of New York. For this pleasant duty, I will delegate a man whose versatility and power of illustration are far beyond my ken,

namely, Mr. Blaine. In speaking of Mr. Conkling, he says: "The ablest and most brilliant man of the delegation was Roscoe Conkling. He had been elected to the preceding Congress when but twenty-nine years of age, and had exhibited a readiness and eloquence in debate that placed him at once in the front rank. His command of language was remarkable. In affluent and exuberant diction, Mr. Conkling was never surpassed in either branch of Congress, unless perhaps, by Rufus Choate." (By special permission from Funk & Wagnalls Co., Publishers, New York.)

I wish to digress here somewhat, hoping not to get too far away from the main subject. I regard the above tribute to the ability and brilliancy of Mr. Conkling a most beautiful one, and as exceptional as it is beautiful, when all facts connected with the public lives of these great statesmen are known, or recalled.

The charming characterization of the New York statesman by Mr. Blaine could equally have been stated, or nearly so, of the man from Maine. I once heard him speak for a period of two hours, with forceful, compelling eloquence, and am in a position to know. It will be recalled that Mr. Conkling and Mr. Blaine entered Congress about the same time (Blaine in '62), and remained there about twenty years. They were always commanding figures in both houses and dictated and controlled legislation to a large, almost unparalleled, degree. They remained friends for many years. At the zenith of their political influence and power, an estrangement arose between them. The cause of this mutual alienation was not known, at least, to this writer. One day, on the floor of Congress, Mr. Conkling made a severe and bitter attack on Mr. Blaine and the position he had taken on some public measure, and, if I remember correctly, assailed his motive and character. The next morning, Mr. Blaine replied with equal bitterness, mingled with

stinging sarcasm. He compared Mr. Conkling to a large turkey gobbler with a red ribbon around his neck (Conkling always wore a red neck tie), strutting around and running over the smaller gobblers and fowls, over which he wished to reign supreme, or words to that effect. It created a great sensation in Congress and among the people as well. The unfortunate and regrettable feature of this estrangement is the fact that the alienation of the two statesmen remained during the remaining period of their lives. All efforts of friends to effect a reconciliation proved abortive.

Mr. Blaine sought the Republican nomination for the presidency, in the National Convention, three times, and in the last ('84) was successful. However, he was defeated by Grover Cleveland, as older readers recall, and largely owing to Mr. Conkling's non-support. Had Mr. Conkling consented to make one speech, one only, in New York for Mr. Blaine, the latter's election would have been assured beyond all controversy. Mr. Blaine lost New York by a small margin only, and Mr. Conkling's great influence in his state would have carried him across. "As New York went, so went the nation" was the slogan, and it was generally true. Mr. Blaine was never the same man afterwards. His strength and ambition began to wane thereafter, though he was Secretary of State during President Harrison's administration, 1889 to 1892. He also wrote his "Twenty Years in Congress" (2 Vols. 1884-86). This was a wonderful contribution to the political history of our Republic, never before or since excelled, if ever equaled.

Conkling died in 1888, Blaine in 1893, neither attaining the goal of their great ambition, the presidency of the United States.

Now to the subject under consideration. The Thirty-seventh Congress was composed of fifty Senators and one hundred and

seventy Representatives. The withdrawal of the South had diminished their numbers materially. Kansas, the youngest state in the Union, was represented by Martin F. Conway, fresh from the border field of conflict, a conflict precipitated by the pro-slavery element from Missouri. The organization of the House of Representatives was quickly effected by the election of Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania as speaker. The message from the President was received on the same day.

There was an eagerness and some anxiety throughout the country as to the views of President Lincoln, and the attitude he would assume in regard to the unpleasant, painful situation. All had read, in his inaugural address of a few months before, the tender plea to the South to ground their weapons of the initial warfare and return to their former allegiance to the United States. He had said directly, as well as by implication, that "we are friends and must not be enemies," and gave similar pronouncements in the inaugural speech calculated to effect a reconciliation; but to no purpose. Since the inaugural, Sumter had fallen, the Norfolk navy yard, as well as the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and other government holdings had been taken by the enemy, and the people were quite eager to learn what the President would now say. In this message he maintained a moderation of tone and expression, characteristic of his state papers on most all occasions. He did not purpose to call the attention of Congress "to any ordinary subject of legislation."

In his judgment there were in this emergency but two things that should engage the attention of Congress; and that was to "provide for the enlistment of an army, and for the raising of money necessary to the conduct of a great war." He recited the progressive steps of the South that had led up to the existing unhappy condition of affairs. How the dock yards, arsenals, custom houses, etc., had been seized, since he assumed office. Many other treasonable acts were recited.

He proceeded to say that seven states had already seceded from the Union and formed "a separate government, which is already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from foreign powers." In view of this situation he was impelled to move at once, though the policy he had chosen when he had assumed the reins of government was to exhaust all peaceful means before resorting to stronger measures. In pursuing this policy of peace the President had formerly "sought only to hold the public places and property, not already wrested from the government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion and the ballot box." He had gone farther. He had promised "a continuance of the mails at government expense to the very people who had resisted the government"; he encouraged a consideration of that mutual forbearance without which it was not "possible to keep the government on foot."

The President had indulged the hope that Virginia would remain loyal to the Union; but having passed the ordinance of secession almost simultaneously with the fall of Sumter, thence moving to the destruction of government property before the ratification to the ordinance, from the people, was secured, and also obtaining the transfer of the Confederate government to Richmond, the President was led to remark as follows: "The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within its borders, and this government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it." All the above expressions and overtures from President Lincoln to the South, looking to a possible conciliation, were wholly ignored.

They were also indifferent, blindly so, to the modest threat the President had made that he might be compelled "to meet force with force." There was only one course now that the President could pursue; that was, to prepare for the worst. He

had gone to the limit. Every peaceful measure that prudence and good judgment could dictate or the Constitution would permit had been exhausted.

He now asks of Congress, in his message, to place "at the control of the government, at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of money." He stated that the number named was about one-tenth of those of proper age who were living in the area where all were willing, evidently, to enlist, and that the sum was "less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by men who seem ready to devote the whole."

He further maintained that "a debt of six hundred millions of dollars is now a less sum per head than the debt of the Revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money value in the country bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population." "Surely," he added, "each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them."

He further portrayed the unconstitutionality and utter fallacy of the asserted right of the South to secede, and how the "public mind of their citizens had been drugged and insidiously debauched for thirty years." The President evidently had in mind the treasonable acts of John C. Calhoun and the South Carolina Legislature when they undertook, about thirty years before, to nullify the newly enacted Federal law, referring to a protective tariff on certain importations. I have alluded to this in a previous chapter.

He closed his message with the assertion that it was "with the deepest regret that he found the duty of employing the war power of the government forced upon him;" but he "must perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the government."

The President's mail had been flooded and his mind over-

whelmed by every conceivable method of compromise, and from every quarter. To all such propositions, his mind was impervious, and to each of such requests he had but one answer, that "no compromise by public servants could in this case be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions." He further asserted that "as a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that republican institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people have confided to him."

His concluding words to Congress were: "Having thus chosen our own course without guile, and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear, and with manly hearts." The effect of this illuminating, comprehensive message on the minds of the people was great and productive of the desired results. If a confirmation of the wisdom of the President's procedure were needed, the people were now reassured.

CHAPTER III.

CAMPAIGNS AND LEADERS

THE recommendations of the President, in the message, were comprehensive, and under its inspiration Congress proceeded at once to its work. In compliance with Lincoln's request, no legislation was considered except such as pertained to the war. Congress convened on July 4, 1861, and both Houses adjourned on August 6, twenty-nine working days altogether, and probably, in no Congress before or since, was there so much accomplished in so short a period. There were seventy-six public measures enacted and all but four related to the war. These had reference to the mobilizing and equipment of the military and naval forces of the Union, to the establishment and maintenance of the Nation's credit, to the securing and appropriation of vast sums of money for the successful prosecution of the war, and other measures. The reorganization of the military establishment and the enlargement of the navy were included in the acts that were passed; as, also, was the revision of the tariff, the levy of direct taxes and the perfecting of loan-bills.

The sum of money appropriated for the army and navy was not as large as was requested by the President, in his message, but doubtless sufficient for their needs till Congress should convene in regular session, during December following. However, the sum thus appropriated was two hundred and seven millions of dollars for the army and fifty-six millions for the navy. These measures fully illustrate the patriotic spirit that animated the minds of the Congressmen, as well as the magnitude and character of the work accomplished.

On Sunday, July 21, 1861, just seventeen days after Congress had convened, and sixteen days before it adjourned, occurred the first great battle of the war, at Bull Run, about thirty miles southwest of Washington. Previous to this there had been several sharp skirmishes and minor engagements between the contending forces, but this was the first decisive battle of the Rebellion. Sad to relate, and unexpected as it was sad, the Union forces met with a signal defeat. Not only this, but they were scattered in every direction and fled in a panic from the field. By nightfall thousands of stragglers were crossing the long bridge leading to Washington, and many thought the Capital to be in imminent danger.

Fortunately, the Confederates did not deem it wise to pursue the retreating foe with a view of taking Washington, for it was not sufficiently protected to repel such a victorious army. At the Bull Run battle the Union loss was about 3000 men, while that of the Confederates was estimated at 2000 men.

Mrs. Lincoln was advised to leave the White House with her family, for a safer location, but this she declined to do, saying that as long as Mr. Lincoln remained there, she would not forsake him.

General McDowell was in command of the Union forces at the battle, and the Confederates were under the command of Generals Beauregard and J. E. Johnston. The former lost twenty-seven guns, besides an immense quantity of small arms, ammunition, stores, provisions and accoutrements. The dark clouds that settled at that time on the already sad heart and wrinkled brow of the noble President were destined to remain there during the entire war period of four years, even up to the time when Grant had driven Lee to Appomattox, and received from the conquered hero his sword and, with it, the fall of the Confederacy. The period of Lincoln's rejoicing and exaltation was brief, but sad as was its termination, it ended in his glorious coronation.

Referring now incidentally to General McDowell's overwhelming defeat and the causes that led thereto, it may be said that if General Patterson had moved his forces quickly to the aid of McDowell or had intercepted General Johnston before he joined Beauregard at Manassas Junction, as was expected, the result might have been different. All will parallel a similar incident at the battle of Waterloo; if General Grouchy had joined Napoleon at the time expected, though a hail storm prevented, the fate of Europe might have been different, and Wellington might have returned to England a defeated commander.

Referring again to the possible cause of the Bull Run defeat, it was the opinion of many that General Winfield Scott, who was then the commanding general, under Lincoln, of the Union forces, was remiss in duty and erroneous in judgment, on the day of the conflict. He had at his command about 25,000 troops, in and around Washington, that he could have easily mobilized and sent quickly to the aid of McDowell, as was frequently requested, but he declined so to do, saying the Union forces there were adequate for any emergency. The genius of the great general, hitherto evident, was now lacking, and he was soon superseded.

It is often said that history repeats itself. This seems to be as true in war as in all matters of human endeavor. In a little over a year from the date of the Bull Run battle, on August 20, 1862, another battle was fought at the same place and by the same contending forces. The Union forces were commanded by General Pope, and the Confederates by Generals Lee, Longstreet and "Stonewall" Jackson. The Union forces were again defeated and with a much heavier loss. This day's battle and the engagements of the two preceding days, in and around Bull Run, cost the Union cause about 20,000 men in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, as well as thirty guns and 30,000 small arms.

Sad as is this picture, my readers must not infer that the Confederates were uniformly and universally victorious, during the interval of the two Bull Run battles, for such was not the case. General Grant and his brave troops had achieved marvelous victories in the Southwest, as had some other Union generals during that period.

I desire to state in this connection, however, that it is not my purpose to write a detailed and extended history of the Civil War; as that would be foreign to and beyond the scope of my original thought. Still I shall aim to give a brief account of the most important battles, and other correlative matter, incident to the four-year war period.

Following the successive military engagements and the time of their occurrence, I wish to mention that of Ball's Bluff, which took place October 21, 1861. The scene of this engagement was on the right bank of the Potomac River, about thirty-three miles northwest of Washington. The Confederate forces were under the command of General Evans, and those of the Union under the command of Colonel Edward D. Baker.

The battle was sanguinary and of short duration, resulting in the defeat of the Union forces and the death of the noble Baker. The death of this brave officer, who fell at the head of his command in the vain endeavor to pluck victory from the jaws of imminent defeat, was greatly mourned by President Lincoln. He had known him long and well. They were colleagues twenty years before in the legislative halls of Illinois.

Mr. Baker was a member of Congress in 1844, representing the same district that was represented two years following by Lincoln. Subsequently, he moved to Oregon, and by this state was returned to Washington as a United States Senator. In the upper House, as formerly in the lower one, he soon took a commanding position. He was a forceful, eloquent speaker

and very much beloved by his senatorial associates. He was present at Washington to greet Lincoln in the spring of '61, and a few days later, at the latter's inauguration, introduced him to the vast audience preceding his inaugural address.

In the Thirty-seventh Congress which convened in extra session, he was an ardent supporter of every measure advanced by the President for the equipment of the army and successful prosecution of the war. His loyalty to the Union knew no bounds, and he soon resigned his position in the Senate that he might the more effectually assist his country in its efforts to suppress the rebellion. He quickly raised a regiment of volunteers with whom he marched to the front, leading them into the thick of the fight that terminated his mortal career. Of him it may be truthfully said:

"How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest."

Following the defeat of the Union forces at Bull Run, the cause of and the responsibility for, being laid by many at the general's door, the great soldier thought it wise to retire. He probably saw, what others knew, that at his advanced age, 78, he was hardly able to cope with the new situation, and while he remained nominally as the chief commander till the end of October, '61, he was practically superseded in July by the formation of a new military department, the Department of the Potomac, which General George B. McClellan was invited to command. General Scott was a noted warrior. He had been in the military department of the government since and before the War of 1812. In the latter war he was an active participant, and as lieutenant-colonel, he distinguished himself at Queenstown Heights and elsewhere.

During the period between this and the Mexican War, some thirty-four years, he rendered his country valiant services in

fighting the Chippewa and other hostile Indian tribes, which then were infesting the country. In 1841 he was commander-in-chief of the United States Army and remained in that position till his retirement. In '46 and '47 he commanded the Mexican War, and after reducing Vera Cruz and eight other cities, seized and held the City of Mexico. At West Point, in 1866, he departed this life, honored by the grateful country he had loved and served so well.

On July 26, 1861, General George B. McClellan arrived in Washington, in response to a summons from the President, to take command of the Department of the Potomac, which had been recently formed. He was appointed to this important command at the request of General Scott, under whom he had served in the Mexican War, as captain. A few months previously he had been placed in command of the Ohio volunteers as major-general, and this new appointment at Washington gave him practically the command of the American army. General Scott was doubtless happy to be relieved of the great responsibility, which he was hardly able longer to supervise.

General McClellan was comparatively a young man, 35 years of age, and a graduate of West Point. After the Mexican War he resigned his commission, as I understand, and became identified with the Illinois Central Railroad as civil engineer, and later became its vice-president. His highest military command, previous to the Civil War, was that of a captain; and his elevation to the high rank of a major-general in '61, with no intervening military experience was, in the minds of many, of doubtful propriety. Instances are rare indeed, in the annals of military history, where an officer is promoted from the rank of captain to that of a major-general. The general showed good business capacity, for within a few days following his arrival he formed the army into brigades and, subsequently, these brigades were formed into divisions, and these into army corps.

The military outlook in and around Washington was not very propitious. General McClellan found the army charged with the defense of the capital reduced by the large number recently killed and wounded in the Bull Run disaster, as well as by desertions and the mustering out of most of the three months' men. There were only about 50,000 infantry, with one regiment of cavalry, and 650 artillerymen remaining for the city's defense. Sorrow and dismay settled down and brooded over the country like a funeral pall, incident to the great disaster. However, people of the loyal North soon recovered from the shock and applied themselves persistently to the raising of new regiments and batteries, by means of which the struggle could be quickly renewed and more successfully prosecuted. In every state, in all the cities, towns and hamlets, the work of recruiting and equipping was soon begun and rapidly prosecuted, so that by the middle of the fall 150,000 young men, the pride and hope of the land, had enrolled their names among their country's defenders, and started for Washington.

When General McClellan found himself surrounded by this vast company of soldiers his heart must have swelled with pride, knowing full well that he had an army superior in numbers and intelligence to any force ever led in battle by Napoleon and, as one expresses it, "by far the largest and most effective which had ever been seen on this continent." On the first of January following, General McClellan had a force under his command of over 200,000 men.

President Lincoln had the sympathy and hearty cooperation of the loyal governors of the North, under whose prompt assistance the large body of volunteers was mustered in, equipped and forwarded to the United States Capital. There was no way of determining the exact number of the enemy confronting us south of the Potomac, but from the best evidence obtainable,

from deserters and contrabands coming within our lines, the Confederate forces were less numerous than ours, vastly and necessarily so. This was owing to the fact that up to this date no general conscription of the whites had been resorted to in the South, and the number of volunteers were evidently much less than ours. The deserters aforesaid did not place their number in excess of 60,000.

In addition to the equipment for so large a body of Union soldiers as above enumerated, we had two hundred field guns of the best quality already in Virginia ready for immediate service.

During the late summer and fall much time was devoted to the drilling of soldiers and instructing them in the manual of arms. This was essentially necessary, as it gave them the requisite qualifications for effective service when the time for active participation in war should arrive. Not many months had elapsed when, in the minds of the people, the officers and men, all excepting the commanding general, the time was most propitious for striking the enemy an effective blow.

General McClellan thought otherwise. His attitude from the start seemed to be of hesitation, inactivity and, possibly, timidity. The months of summer, autumn and early winter wore heavily away, "and saw nothing attempted." There had been a short and, to us, disastrous engagement at Ball's Bluff, where the noble Baker lost his life, and also light skirmishing at the front, but nothing approaching a decisive battle had occurred. All this in face of the fact that there were 200,000 and more of loyal, well equipped, well drilled soldiers within a radius of thirty or forty miles of Washington, ready and anxious for the fray. All old soldiers will agree with the writer that a march to the front and actual participation in battle is preferable always to the lengthy stagnation of camp life.

The noble President, as well as the people at large, was

looking, patiently, hopefully, for a forward movement, and possibly a military conquest, but all that was heard, and that through the press, was the repeated declaration that "all was quiet on the Potomac." This was received with a degree of complacence for a season, but after its repetition for months, its meaning was changed to a synonym of approbrium. Some accused General McClellan, perhaps wrongfully, of being possessed of constitutional timidity and irresolution, and also a natural tendency to avoid the precipitation of a great war, resulting, as it probably would, in the abolition of slavery, which he had always regarded as constitutional and right.

He may also have thought that the involvement of the Nation in a war, the like of which would find no parallel, probably, in all the pages of recorded history, would result in the destruction of the institutions and vast resources of the South, as well as incurring the deadly enmity of its people, whom he regarded hitherto as friends. Thus the last end would be worse than the first.

But let us take a more charitable view of the impulse and desire that possibly animated the breast of the "young Napoleon." Let us do this at least for argument's sake. The high position to which he had been so recently and suddenly called, entailing as it would a sense of exalted responsibility, may have produced a conviction that by postponing the conflict, some unforeseen circumstance, such as a foreign war, financial embarrassment or other complication might arise whereby a compromise between the belligerent parties could be effected, and thus all war be avoided. If this was his high ambition he was reckoning "without his host." He had forgotten the declaration of Robert Toombs and other Southern Senators that they would not accept the Crittenden resolution or any other compromise, "but were determined to destroy this rotten government." He also should have known that the subjugation

of Fort Sumter by the South and their bloody and victorious battle at Bull Run in July previously would preclude the possibility of any such compromise.

As early as July 1, '61, the War Department was notified by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy that the Potomac would "soon be closed by the batteries of the Confederates," and Secretary Gideon Wells reiterated the same warning on August 20. The Confederates were not long in effecting a complete obstruction of the river by the planting therein and on its banks of numerous batteries. The navy simply desired the army to cooperate with it in securing the unobstructed navigation of the Potomac.

At last, in October, General McClellan agreed to spare 4000 men to thus cooperate, but when the flotilla assembled at the appointed time and place, the troops were not there. The general's excuse was that his engineers were of the opinion that so large a body of troops could not be landed at Mathias Point, the place previously agreed upon. Upon assurance by the Navy Department that they would attend to the landing of the troops, the general agreed that they should be sent on the following night. The flotilla was in readiness again, but the expected troops were not in evidence, neither were any troops ever sent down for that purpose. General McClellan gave as a reason that he feared the presence of troops might bring on a general engagement. When a commander is depressed by fear, rather than animated by bravery, no favorable results need be expected.

Thus the weary weeks and months wore away, and nothing was doing. On January 13, '62, the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton succeeded General Simon Cameron, as Secretary of War. He was a distinguished lawyer, possessing great will power, a Democrat in politics, and loyal to the core. Lincoln and the public reposed great confidence in him and were not dis-

appointed. He proved a veritable Bismark in the future military activities of the country. President Lincoln, wearied, if not exasperated by the long, inexcusable, unwarranted delay, issued a ward order, two weeks thereafter, January 27, commanding and demanding a general advance movement on the enemy, from every quarter, on the 22nd of February, Washington's birthday anniversary.

The Secretary of War (Stanton) had previously urged General McClellan to move actively in the reopening of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and in removing the rebel batteries from the banks of the lower Potomac. The Secretary's early and decisive activities doubtless gave added impulse to the President, in his imperative order to McClellan to move almost at once on the enemy's works. General McClellan was ordered by the President to move southwestward with the object of seizing and occupying a point on the railroad not far from Manassas Junction, thence onward to Richmond. The General had previously been urged to proceed to effect the organization of four or five distinct army corps, under generals of his own choice. This the General declined to do, asserting that he wished to test his officers as division commanders in actual service before thus appointing them. President Lincoln knew quite well that the General had had ample time for this but had not improved his opportunity.

Finally on March 8, the President, seeing that nothing was being accomplished in the way of an organization by General McClellan as he had been directed, proceeded to secure the organization of the Army of the Potomac, under general war order No. 2, into four corps, to be commanded by Generals McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes. This the President did by virtue of the power vested in him by the Constitution, making him commander-in-chief of the American forces. To this peremptory accomplishment General McClellan seemed

to yield a willing assent, for five days later he began marshaling his forces for an advanced move on Richmond.

However, he disagreed with the President as to the wisdom of a land advance to the Confederate capital from the north, but preferred, and so advised the Executive, a forward movement on Richmond by way of the lower Rappahannock, landing at Urbanna, and making a base of West Point, at the head of York River. The base of operations was subsequently changed to Fortress Monroe.

In the minds of the President and many generals there were serious objections to the adoption of the water route instead of the overland march to Richmond, as it would involve the division of our forces, possibly, and leave our National Capital, with its vast depots of arms, munitions and provisions, to the mercy of the Confederates. Unquestionably, the destruction of everything above enumerated, and more, would be within the range of a reasonable probability, if our grand army were transferred bodily to the base of the Virginia peninsula.

The President finally deferred to the urgent wish and glowing representations of General McClellan as to the water route, knowing full well, however, that they would involve long delay, as well as heavy expense in securing transportation by water for so large a body of men, saying nothing about the enormous military supplies needed for the equipment of the army at the end of their journey. The President made one condition, namely, that a sufficient military force should be left at or near Washington to properly protect the Capital against any possible invasion of the enemy.

The duty of securing the means of transportation of men and supplies devolved on the Assistant Secretary of War. To the performance of this duty he readily applied himself and shortly succeeded in chartering 389 steamers, schooners and barges for this purpose; and within about thirty days from

the time of receiving his orders, had transported from Washington, Alexandria and nearby points, down the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay to Fortress Monroe, over 121,000 men, besides thousands and thousands of animals, wagons, ambulances, batteries, pontoon bridges, telegraph material and a vast quantity of equipages. The number of troops as above enumerated was considered sufficiently large to cope with any Confederate force with which they might be confronted, in and around Richmond.

It should be said that during the month of March the naval victory of Erikson's Monitor over the Merrimac had cleared the Hampton Roads of all opposing forces and made navigation of the James and York rivers possible.

On the 2nd of April, '62, General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe, from Washington. At this time the General had been in command of the American forces about eight months. One writer says: "In November, 1861, the Army of the Potomac, if not fully supplied with all the material, was yet about as complete in numbers, discipline and organization as it ever became." He goes on further to say, in disparagement of McClellan's efforts, through the previous eight months of inactivity, that "more than any other wars, rebellion demands rapid measures." As the reverse was the case, he evidently thought that the military achievements, to date, of the General could be best represented by the generally accepted meaning of the word "nix."

Also, the future laurels that encircled the brow of the commander in and around Richmond failed to impress the mind of the great Lincoln and others, if the press correctly reflected the sentiment of the people. However, the President was generous to a fault, and willing to "forget and forgive" if the young general would try and redeem himself in the impending campaign.

On his arrival at Fortress Monroe, General McClellan

found Yorktown, located a short distance up the River York, occupied by a Confederate force of 12,000 to 15,000 men. The noted General Magruder was in command. General McClellan took measures at once to dispossess him of his strongly entrenched position. General Heintzelman and General Keyes, with their large commands, were ordered to the front, but soon brought to a halt by fire from Confederate batteries. A battle was soon precipitated, and our men being reinforced by troops that just arrived from Alexandria and disembarked, a mighty struggle ensued. This continued around Yorktown and Fort Magruder, with varying results, and a heavy loss on both sides for about a month, when it was discovered on the morning of May 6, Magruder had abandoned his works the previous night and retreated up the Peninsula.

A vigorous pursuit of the flying Confederates was ordered. General George D. Stoneman put the order into execution, and with a force of four regiments and some cavalry and artillery followed the enemy, but they soon encountered such determined opposition as to induce the belief that the Confederates intended to dispute every step to Richmond. The Union army was reinforced by the arrival of new troops from West Point and elsewhere, and many hotly contested engagements with the enemy occurred, with severe losses on both sides.

In addition to the severe opposition thus encountered, our march towards the Confederate Capital was so impeded by heavy and continued rainfalls that General McClellan was unable to reach and establish headquarters at White House before the 16th of May. On the 19th he reached Coal Harbor. This was east of Richmond, perhaps twenty miles. Our light troops had reached Bottoms' Bridge, on the Chickahominy River, southwest of the Capital, two days previous.

The first collision between the contending forces on the Chickahominy occurred on the 24th of May, near New Bridge,

where we assailed and drove back a superior Confederate force, taking a number of prisoners. The Fifth Army was ordered by General McClellan to proceed by way of Mechanicsville to Hanover Court House, to facilitate the expected arrival of General McDowell from Fredericksburg. Arriving within two miles of the Court House, the enemy was found in a position to impede further progress. General Porter of the Fifth Corps, being reinforced by several regiments and Berdan's Sharpshooters, charged and quickly routed the enemy.

On his arrival at the Court House, General Porter, learning that his rear was attacked by a large Confederate force, turned his whole column about and, chasing the enemy through the dense forest, completely routed them again. The enemy lost about 200 killed, with double the number taken prisoners, as well as their camp at the Hanover Court House, which was captured and destroyed by our forces. During the following days General Nagle made a reconnoissance towards Richmond and within a few miles of the James River.

On the 28th, General Couch's division took a position a few miles in advance, at a place known as Seven Pines. Meantime, General Casey with the remaining division of Keyes' Corps, marched to and encamped at a station known as Fair Oaks, on the York River Railroad, a few miles east of Richmond. Heintzelman's Third Corps crossed after Keyes and took a station in his rear. Sumner's Corps was still north of the Chickahominy, a short distance higher up, ready to cross when commanded. General McClellan was with General Fitz-John Porter and Franklin's Corps at New Bridge, a few miles north of Fair Oaks. The Confederate forces were encamped west of Fair Oaks, east of Richmond, and in close proximity to General Casey's (Union) division. The entire Confederate army defending Richmond was estimated to be some 40,000 or 50,000 strong.

On May 31, General Joseph E. Johnston, who was in command of the rebel army, learning from scouts the numbers and disposition of Keyes' corps, saw his opportunity and decided to improve it. At 1 p. m., the signal was given the Confederate general, Hill, to advance and attack. Casey's division was surprised and largely outnumbered. Owing to the short time the Union forces had occupied this new position, their defensive works were of little worth. General Casey put up an immediate and vigorous defense, but when the regiments which had been sent to the front in support of his pickets came rushing back in confusion and disorder, having lost heavily by the Confederate fire, it was evident that he would soon be overwhelmed. Observing the enemy surrounding him on both sides, General Casey ordered General Nagle with the remainder of his decimated brigade to charge bayonets and drive them back. This was quickly done, but at a fearful loss, as our men were mowed down by scores and hundreds.

The contending forces soon marshaled their men in vast numbers and the battle was on. It raged in unabated fury all the afternoon, even until nightfall ended the bloody carnage. At this late hour, the enemy was driven back in confusion under a bayonet charge from Sumner's division, leaving us in undisputed possession of the ground whereon the final struggle was made. The loss on both sides of officers and men was exceedingly heavy.

General Joseph Johnston, the Confederate commander, was badly wounded, having been struck by a shell. At this juncture, Jefferson Davis himself led one of the charges, the last one in that part of the field. The next morning, June 1, the enemy renewed the struggle under Generals Pickett and Pryor. General French's brigade of Sumner's corps opposed their advance.

For a while, very little execution was witnessed on either

side; but when Mahone's brigade came to the aid of General Pryor, and Howard's to that of General French, a more sanguinary conflict was maintained for several hours, when the Confederates desisted and retreated unpursued. In the engagement, General O. O. Howard lost his arm. He was a noble Christian gentleman. He was called the Havelock of the American army. This writer has seen him several times, and once heard him address a religious assembly. The aforementioned engagement, it should be said, occurred at or near Fair Oaks. Under cover of the following night, the Confederates retired to Richmond. The estimated loss on both sides, in killed, wounded and missing, was about 7,000. It was thought by many that if General McClellan, when he arrived from New Bridge, had brought with him the corps of Fitz-John Porter and Franklin, the Confederate retreat would have been prevented, and a marvelous victory achieved.

The next morning, June 2nd, General Hooker, by order of General Heintzelman, made a reconnoissance towards Richmond, advancing to within four miles of the city, meeting with no opposition except from pickets. When General McClellan heard of this movement, he ordered General Hooker to be returned to Fair Oaks.

Many censured General McClellan for his hesitancy at this important juncture. General J. G. Barnard, in his report of the campaign, says: "The repulse of the rebels at Fair Oaks should have been taken advantage of. It was one of those occasions which, if not seized, do not repeat themselves. We now know the state of disorganization and dismay in which the rebel army retreated. We now know that it could have been followed into Richmond. Had it been so, there could have been no resistance to overcome to bring over our right wing." He goes on to say in substance that when the Confederates struck the blow at our right wing, they exhausted their

resources, and struck with their whole force. Still we repulsed them in disorder with three-fifths of ours. We should have followed them up at the same time that we brought over the other two-fifths.

General McClellan wrote at once to the Secretary of War and the President, reciting the facts of their great military achievement, as he understood it, and adding that in the event of a certain contingency arising, he might wait till more troops could be brought up from Fortress Monroe. The President replied at once, agreeing not only to forward troops from the said fort, but would send five regiments from Baltimore by water, and McCall's division of McDowell's Corps as speedily as possible. This pleased General McClellan and on the 7th, he sent a dispatch to Washington, expressing his appreciation of the promise of early reinforcements. He also expressed his "readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here and the ground will admit of the passage of artillery." Terrific storms had prevailed the preceding days, which seriously interfered with, if not entirely prevented, their progress. However, these conditions did not exist, as I understand it, the night the Confederate forces were permitted to fold their tents and quietly slip away to their strongholds at Richmond.

General McCall's division arrived by water on June 12th and 13th. On the 14th, General McClellan wired the War Department that "all quiet in every direction" and that "the weather is now very favorable." He expressed his purpose to advance as soon as the bridges were completed, but wished for more troops.

At this time, General McClellan made his report to the office of the Adjutant-General, giving as his strength on the peninsula, troops as follows: Present for duty, 115,102; special duty, sick and in arrest, 12,225; absent, 29,511—total 156,838.

On the 18th, General McClellan wired the President that "a general engagement may take place any hour," and further stated that "after tomorrow, we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence will permit." Several "after tomorrows" passed and no advance by our general and his army. On the 24th, a deserter from the enemy was brought into camp and gave his version of the position of Stonewall Jackson, and that he would probably come in from the north with the intent to turn our right and attack our rear on the 28th. Such news caused some hesitation on the part of General McClellan, in all probability. However, on the 25th, he ordered an advance of his picket line on the left, preparatory to a general forward movement, and during the day other corps were pushed forward through a swamp wood, being met by a stubborn resistance from the enemy that resulted in a loss on our side of 51 killed, 401 wounded and 64 missing, a total of 516.

That night General McClellan telegraphed the President that, from contraband information, Jackson's advance was at or near Hanover Court House, and that Beauregard had arrived the previous day in Richmond with strong reinforcements. He entertained the belief that Jackson would attack both his right and rear. He expressed his conviction that by the arrival of Jackson and Beauregard the Confederate forces largely outnumbered his own, and asked for additional troops. The President quickly replied that he would give more men if he could, adding, "I have omitted, I shall omit, no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I can."

General Robert E. Lee, who now had assumed chief command of the Confederate forces, resolved at length on striking a decisive blow. He summoned all his available forces and centered them in and around Richmond. At this time, the entire Confederate army of Virginia, including Jackson's corps, did not exceed 70,000 men. At least, this was the estimate made by well-informed writers.

General Lee put his resolution into quick execution by ordering Jackson to advance and attack our right, and hold Mechanicsville, northwest of Richmond. The conflict for the ensuing two or three days was terrific, with alternate victories and defeats, resulting in a very heavy loss of life on both sides. Finally, on the 27th, just before sunset, the Confederates rallied all their forces for a last desperate effort, and stormed our entrenchments on the right and on the left, driving back our men with fearful carnage, and capturing many of our guns. At this juncture a battalion of Union cavalry came to our rescue, but was met by a withering fire of musketry and belching cannon, resulting in a rout; the frightened horses becoming unmanagable, rushed to the rear, possibly with the consent of their riders, and crashed through our batteries. General Fitz-John Porter attributed our failure to hold the field and bring off our guns and wounded to this unfortunate incident. Our losses in this action, it was said, probably exceeded 6,000 in killed and wounded.

This defeat must have had a dispiriting effect on the mind of the commanding general, for that night our forces were ordered withdrawn, unmolested, across the Chickahominy River to the south. This precipitous action was possibly induced by the added news that part of our forces had been completely enveloped by overwhelming forces of the enemy and compelled to surrender. In the minds of many, this retreat was a very unwise procedure. An eminent writer and historian states that our army "was still more than 100,000 strong; while, save in the imagination of McClellan, there were not nearly so many rebels within a circuit of fifty miles." After General Porter's defeat and retreat across the Chickahominy, General Stewart with his Confederate cavalry marched towards White House on the branch of the York River, arriving there on the morning of June 29. He found nothing there to dispute

his possession but a gunboat, which steamed down the river quickly in quest of safety. Large quantities of government property, including nine large loaded barges, five locomotives, a vast number of tents, wagons, cars, etc., were stored there and subjected to flames before our forces had retreated.

Generals Stoneman and Emory fearing, doubtless, the early arrival of the Confederate forces, fled precipitously with their cavalry down the Peninsula, leaving behind large quantities of provisions, forage, etc., to fall into the hands of the enemy. After his safe arrival on the south side of the Chickahominy, General McClellan "decided," it seems, "not to fight, but to fly," as one writer puts it. Assembling his corps commanders, he informed them that he had determined on a flank movement through White Oak Swamp to the James River. That night he moved his headquarters to Savages Station, just east of Fair Oaks, which would enable him the more effectually to superintend the movement of the corps and trains. The vast amount of supplies of all kinds, including largely those of provisions and munitions that could not be removed, was consigned to destruction.

The saddest feature of the whole calamity, as I look at it, was the fact that 2500 of our noble, wounded boys who were unable to walk were left behind. No ambulances in sufficient numbers were available, so they were left in hospital, with surgeons and attendants, to fall into the hands of the enemy. General Robert E. Lee, it was said, was puzzled concerning McClellan's intentions, and doubtless surprised as well, when he learned that the latter had decided to abandon his position and the siege without a battle. This southern movement of his enemy Lee did not divine till late in the afternoon of June 28, when a returning detachment of his cavalry revealed the fact. When Lee fully comprehended our movement, that is, of retreat, he ordered his forces to pursue and attack our rear.

On the morning of the 29th we were attacked by a small force, but the enemy was easily repulsed. Later in the day Magruder attacked us in full force, but was gallantly repulsed by General Burns' brigade, being aided by Bramwell's batteries, which played a most effective part in the struggle. At 9 p. m. the enemy withdrew, having gained no advantage.

On June 30, McClellan emerged from the swamp with about one-third of his army, to the high, open ground near Malvern Hill. This was south of Richmond, on the James River.

About noon of that day General Longstreet, at the head of his corps, accompanied by General Lee and Jefferson Davis, ordered an advance. A very sanguinary engagement ensued, lasting all the afternoon, and on till 9 p. m., when the Confederates were driven from the field. The loss on both sides was heavy. One writer says that "Our victorious army began at once to evacuate, by order, the strong position wherein they had just achieved so decided and bloody a success, leaving their dead unburied and many of their wounded to fall into the hands of the enemy, making a hurried and disorderly night march, over roads badly overcrowded, to the next position selected by their commander, at Harrison's Bar, seven miles down the James."

It was said that "even Fitz-John Porter's devotion to his chief was temporarily shaken by this order, which elicited his most indignant protest." General Joseph Hooker, "Fighting Joe Hooker," expressed his conviction that after their great victory at Malvern, they could have gone into Richmond without doubt; but instead of that, they were ordered to fall back to Harrison's Landing, and added: "We were ordered to retreat; and it was like the retreat of a whipped army. We retreated like a parcel of sheep."

General McClellan reports the aggregate losses of his army, in the seven days fighting and retreating from "Mechanicsville to Harrison's Bar, at 1,582 killed, 7,709 wounded, and 5,958

missing; total, 15,249." The Confederates did not give an estimate of their losses in these engagements, but they must have been nearly as great as those of our own. General Lee did not care to follow our retreating forces to Harrison's Bar and withdrew to Richmond, leaving a brigade of cavalry to watch and report our movements. In his report to his government, Lee made the following statement: "The siege of Richmond was raised, and the object of a campaign which had been prosecuted, after months of preparation, at an enormous expenditure of men and money, completely frustrated. More than 10,000 prisoners, including officers of rank, 52 pieces of artillery, and upwards of 35,000 stands of small arms were captured." He goes on to state that our forces were larger than his, and also our losses, and concluded by saying that "McClellan's inaction showed in what condition the survivors reached the protection to which they fled."

While at Harrison's Bar, McClellan received an order from General Halleck, who was then in command of the American forces under recent appointment, and who saw the utter futility of further action of McClellan in his present condition, to return with his forces to Aquia Creek and Alexandria. This McClellan proceeded to do, though somewhat reluctantly. He marched his men to Fortress Monroe and embarked to Alexandria and other points south of Washington, whence they had departed a few months before. One historian writes: "Thus ended the unfortunate Peninsula campaign of the magnificent Army of the Potomac," and added with some sarcasm, I think: "Never before did an army so constantly, pressingly need to be reinforced, not by a corps but by a leader; not by men, but by a man."

Some writers compare McClellan's retirement from Richmond and his return to Washington, to Napoleon's sad retreat from Moscow. General McClellan claimed all along that his forces were not sufficiently strong to cope with those of Lee,

while others assert that he commanded a larger army in that Peninsula campaign than Napoleon had at Austerlitz when he had three or four nations at his feet, suing for mercy.

Lincoln had reposed great confidence in the valor and skill of his commander, and this sad ending of a campaign which he hoped would terminate and crush the rebellion must have saddened the President almost beyond expression and nearly taken his life as well. Also, it must have been a source of inexpressible chagrin and humiliation to the proud commander, likewise.

All could now see, or at least would conclude, that the order given by the President to General McClellan in advance, to move from Manassas to Richmond by land, instead of by water, was wise in its conception; at least it would not have been more disastrous in its execution than the course General McClellan persisted in taking. Some may have censured the President in placing McClellan in so high command, when all the previous military experience McClellan had was as a captain in the Mexican War. He was then fighting a weak, ignorant people, who knew but little about modern warfare, of whom it might be said, "One could chase a thousand, and two put 10,000 to flight."

George B. McClellan had been a successful civil engineer and vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad; but not every business man possesses the genius for successful military achievement. Some generals of antiquity and a few of modern times possessed this genius, including Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Napoleon and Grant.

Referring to the campaign, it might be added that the general impression at the time was that General Lee had out-generated McClellan in nearly every engagement in which both had participated. However, the writer concludes, that if General McClellan did the best he could under all circumstances, that fact should disarm much of the criticism, then so prevalent.

CHAPTER IV.

DIFFICULTIES AND VICTORY

IN JULY, '62, General John Pope was summoned from the West by President Lincoln to take command of a force to be designated the Army of Virginia. This was independent of the Army of the Potomac, which was under the command of McClellan.

Under this new command were included all the troops in and around Washington or occupying the lower end of the Shenandoah Valley. This army was to comprise three corps, under Major-Generals Fremont, Banks and McDowell; but General Fremont felt a little piqued over the assignment, thinking he had been lowered in rank, somewhat, and asked to be relieved. This was granted, and General Sigel was assigned to his command.

This newly-organized army numbered about 50,000 men, and was located at different points from Winchester, across the Shenandoah River, 'way down to Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock.

The intention of General Pope at first was to advance to the neighborhood of Richmond, with a view of aiding McClellan in his operation against that city. But he learned with surprise that Lee's army had driven General McClellan from Mechanicsville, before Richmond, and that our forces were retreating through White Oak Swamp to Harrison's Landing. General Pope wisely desisted from further movements in that direction, knowing that he was in no condition to cope with so large a force as the Confederates had around their Capital city.

General Pope, anxious to impede, if he could not prevent,

the march of Lee and his army from Richmond to the valley, ordered General King, at Fredericksburg, to push forward detachments of his cavalry to the Virginia Central Railroad and destroy as much thereof as possible, which was quickly effected. General Banks was also ordered to advance with an infantry brigade and his cavalry to Culpepper Court House, thence to threaten Gordonsville, nearby. But one day before arriving at Gordonsville, General Richard S. Ewell, with a division of Lee's army from Richmond, had reached the city, rendering its capture by our army improbable if not impossible, General Stonewall Jackson with his division soon joined Ewell's forces at Gordonsville, and was reinforced by a division from General Hill's corps, increasing his fighting strength to about 25,000.

General Jackson, who now was probably the ablest general in Lee's command, saw his opportunity and resolved to improve it, which he quickly did by attacking our army from various quarters. General Banks put up a vigorous defense, but as he only had a force of about 6,000 or 8,000 men, and had to cross open fields thoroughly swept by Confederate cannon and musketry, he was obliged to withdraw, losing about 2,000 men in killed and wounded. Jackson claimed to have taken 400 prisoners and over 5000 small arms, only sustaining a loss of 223 killed. Our generals maintained that they were not so much beaten as fairly crowded off the field. General Jackson crossed the Rapidan, on his retreat, and was pursued by our cavalry. General Pope advanced with his infantry to a point where he could get in communication with the enemy, and after some skirmishing, arrived at the conclusion that the whole Confederate army of Virginia was assembling to overwhelm him. A letter from General Lee found with a captured Confederate adjutant confirmed that conviction. That was August 15.

Pope held his position for several days, hoping to get reinforcements from McClellan's army, which was in and around Alexandria, but receiving none, he decided on the 18th to retreat across the Rappahannock, which was effected without loss in two days.

The Confederates followed sharply with their cavalry, but after a few days skirmishing without effect, they turned their course up the stream, with intent in a short time to turn our right. General Pope telegraphed Washington several times, requesting reinforcements, saying that unless he soon received them, he would be compelled to retreat. On the 21st, he was assured that if he could hold out for two days longer he would be amply strengthened, in which event he could assume the offensive. However, up to the 25th, only 7000 troops had arrived. At this time, Pope's army proper, exclusive of the 7000, did not exceed 40,000, the constant marching and unsuccessful fighting having reduced his force to that number. The arrival of Heintzelman's and Porter's corps from McClellan's army ought to have swelled this number to 60,000, but unfortunately the ammunition and equipment of these corps were so deficient that their efficiency in battle was greatly reduced. Other reinforcements had been promised from Washington but were tardy in coming. It was supposed that General Lee had at this time, nearly his whole army on the Rappahannock.

While General Pope was placing his forces at Sulphur Springs, Waterloo and other strategic points, preparatory for the impending conflict, the Confederate general stole a march on him. Lee abandoned the idea of forcing a passage of that river with a view of attacking and turning our right, but resorted to another, and unexpected movement, which showed his great resourcefulness as a military commander. He directed Stonewall Jackson to cross the river above Waterloo and move around our army and strike and destroy the railroad in its

rear. General Longstreet was to follow and menace our front, thus engaging Pope's attention till Jackson could accomplish his hazardous undertaking. General Jackson moved rapidly across the river, four miles above Waterloo, thence marching to and encamping at Salem. He moved early next morning, marching southeasterly to Gainesville, where he was joined by Stewart with two brigades of cavalry. Before dark he struck the Alexandria Railroad at Bristow Station.

In this position he had placed himself directly between the forces of Pope, south of him, and the latter's base at Alexandria or Washington. In this circuitous route, since crossing the Rappahannock, the Confederates had met with no resistance. General Pope seems to have been mistaken or been deceived as to the position of the enemy in its rapid march around them, though our cavalry was watching their movements along the river, at different points. Our general entertained the impression that Lee's army was moving up the river with the Shenandoah Valley possibly in view, with ultimate designs on the Potomac or beyond.

Of course Lee had no such idea. He was looking for immediate results. After arriving at Bristow Station, Jackson dispatched General Trimble and an ample force, with orders to attack and subdue, at all hazards, Manassas Junction, seven miles up, and capture the vast amount of stores collected there. This command was quickly executed, the charge on the city being made about midnight, with little resistance, and a large amount of commissary stores captured. Our small guard, consisting of a few companies and a battery, was seemingly taken by surprise.

Besides a few prisoners, many horses and tents, ten locomotives, seven trains loaded with provisions, and immense quantities of quartermaster's stores, fell into the hands of the enemy. Brigadier-General George W. Taylor, having heard of

the Manassas invasion, with four regiments of infantry of Franklin's division, pushed forward eagerly by rail from Alexandria, hoping to regain the lost fight. General Jackson, who as usual, took time by the forelock, hastened from Bristow with ten brigades and twelve batteries, and quickly routed Taylor, who lost a leg in the encounter, and remained master of the situation.

Pope, astonished beyond measure, awoke now to a realization of his condition. He had that morning ordered several divisions to move rapidly to Gainesville, fifteen miles west of Manassas, and a division of Heintzelman's corps to move on a parallel road to Greenwich, while Pope himself, with Hooker's division, moved directly up the railroad towards Manassas.

Porter and Banks, when the latter should arrive from Fayetteville, were to march to Gainesville, where a battle was anticipated. Arriving at Bristow Junction, General Hooker encountered Ewell's division, which was soon overpowered and put to flight, the latter falling back on Manassas, under the protection of General Jackson. Anticipating an attack from Pope's entire army, Jackson wisely withdrew from Manassas, moving westward, in order to meet Longstreet, who was known to be approaching. However, before evacuating, Jackson destroyed thousands of barrels of provisions, including beef, pork, bacon and flour. His army needed these supplies more than did ours, but was unable to remove them and so destroyed them.

At this juncture Pope ordered several of his corps and brigade commanders to move at once with their forces to Bristow and Manassas. Some of the generals were slow in their movements owing to the late hours in which they received their orders.

As indicated, Jackson, who was never caught napping, had evacuated Manassas, moving westerly and thence northerly via Centerville, thus avoiding the destruction which may have

awaited him had he sought a more immediate junction with Longstreet. Pope ordered a movement at once of all his forces in hand towards Centerville, McDowell, without orders, sending a division towards Thoroughfare Gap. One of our divisions arrived at Centerville late in the afternoon and occupied the city without resistance. Part of Jackson's forces had just retreated towards Sudley Springs, and part took the Warrenton turnpike road towards Gainesville, destroying, in their retreat, the bridges over Bull Run and Cub Run.

At 6 p. m. (August 28) Jackson's advance pushing through Thoroughfare Gap, encountered a division of McDowell's corps and a sanguinary conflict ensued, terminated only by nightfall. Both sides lost heavily, our forces having been worsted. Pope, who was now at Centerville, ordered a concentration of his forces at this point (Thoroughfare Gap) hoping to entrap Jackson before Longstreet could join him. In this he reckoned without his opponent. General Longstreet's advance reached the gap at 3 p. m. and was delayed somewhat with encounters with our force, but early next morning he joined Jackson's army near Gainesville, and the battle was soon on. It raged with terrific force for two or three days, when Pope, being disappointed in his expectation to overwhelm Jackson before Lee, with Longstreet, could come to his aid, and discouraged over the fact that some of his brigades and divisions were tardy in coming into action, and that Porter failed to come in altogether, decided to order a retreat. He retreated via Centerville, crossing Bull Run four miles from that city. He was opposed somewhat by the pursuing enemy, but finally, with his whole army, reached the entrenchments on the Potomac, south of Washington.

Some attributed Pope's failure to his incapacity as a commanding general; others considered his disasters justly due to the failure, possibly unwillingness, of McClellan to send

support, which Pope so much needed and had a right to expect. It was reported that when General Pope took command of the Army of Virginia he made a statement in his address to his soldiers that reflected on McClellan, who then was suffering defeat in the Peninsula at the hands of General Lee, and that General McClellan took this opportunity to resent the criticism by refusing to send men and supplies to Pope in his dire need. However, General Pope disclaimed any such motive in his address.

In his report of the campaign General Pope corrects a misrepresentation in regard to the support he had received from the Army of the Potomac. "Reynolds' division of Pennsylvania reserves, about 2000, joined me on the 23rd of August at Rappahannock Station; the corps of Heintzelman and Porter, about 18,000 strong, joined me on the 26th and 27th of August, at Warrenton Junction. The Pennsylvania reserves under Reynolds, and Heintzelman's corps, consisting of the divisions of Hooker and Kearny, rendered most gallant and efficient service in all the operations which occurred after they had reported to me. Porter's corps, from unnecessary and unusual delays, and frequent and flagrant disregard of my orders, took no part whatever except in the action of the 30th of August. This small fraction of 20,500 men was all of the 91,000 veteran troops from Harrison's Landing (near Alexandria) which ever drew trigger under my command, or in any way took part in that campaign."

McClellan claimed that he needed his force to give adequate protection to Washington and its environment.

General Lee claimed in his report that during his campaign against Pope he had captured more than 7,000 prisoners, besides 2,000 of our wounded; 30 pieces of artillery and 20,000 small arms. It should be added that our losses in railroad cars, munitions, camp equipage and other equipment was

immense. The Confederates claimed that their losses in killed and wounded, from the 23rd to the 30th of August, inclusive, were about 15,000 men. It was thought that Pope's losses, including stragglers who never rejoined their regiments, must have been double that number. Among our killed was Fletcher Webster, son of the great Daniel. From this, my readers will learn something about "war's desolation."

This writer sympathizes with General Pope, but the unbiased reader will conclude, probably, that as with McClellan, a month before, so now with Pope, he was simply outgeneraled by the military genius of Generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson.

On arriving at Washington, General Pope resigned his commission, and General McClellan was invested by the President and General Halleck, with the entire control of the fortifications around Washington, and "all the troops for the defense of the Capital."

McClellan soon ordered a concentration of his forces within the defenses of Washington, in order that they might be fully prepared to resist and repel the enemy should it approach the Capital. Any attempt of this kind was foreign to the mind of Lee; for, as the sequel proved, his thought was already set on the invasion of Maryland. On September 2 he sent one division of his army to Leesburg, with orders to cross the Potomac and march to Frederick. On the 5th, Jackson followed with fourteen brigades, crossing the river and moving on to Frederick, which he occupied without resistance. General Lee with the balance of his army followed quickly and, arriving at Frederick, issued an address to the people of Maryland. In this he appealed to their patriotism from his point of view, to their former love for the South and its institutions, and indulged the hope that they would ally their interests and destiny with the Southern Confederacy, and assist in its triumph and perpetuity.

General Lee's appeal had little or no effect, for the Governor of Maryland had proved his loyalty to the Union by sending many troops to the front, who were then with our forces actively participating in the war. His army, however, confiscated many horses, cattle and supplies of various kinds that might contribute to the usefulness and efficiency of his soldiers, and sent them across the river for future emergencies.

When General McClellan heard of the movements of Lee and his forces crossing the river into Maryland, he brought his several corps across the Potomac and posted them north of Washington. When he left the city, on September 7, he moved slowly up the Potomac, leaving General Banks in command of the Capital, fearing a possible encounter with the enemy. However, they met with no opposition until they arrived at Frederick, on the 12th, which city they entered, after a brisk skirmish; the main body of the Confederates evacuated it, moving westward.

General McClellan thought, and correctly so, that the Confederate forces would turn southward, having the capture of Harper's Ferry in view. General McClellan marched his troops in that direction and met the enemy at Maryland Heights, a favorable position commanding the fort. A vigorous conflict ensued, in which a considerable loss was sustained on both sides. On the morning of the 15th, at daybreak, the Confederate batteries reopened from seven most favorable and commanding points, directing their aim on Bolivar Height principally. General Miles, who was in command of the fort, with his artillery ammunition exhausted, or nearly so, and not being able to secure additional supplies, thought it best, on consultation with his officers, to surrender, and so raised the white flag.

A capitulation was soon agreed to, by means of which over 11,000 men, 73 guns, 13,000 small arms, wagons, tents and camp equipage passed over to the enemy. Their victory, how-

ever, was of short duration, for in a short time the fort was retaken by McClellan.

General Stonewall Jackson, who always appreciated the value of time, evidently considered the capture of the fort of little consequence, in anticipation of a greater victory; for, not waiting to receive the surrender, leaving that to another general, he hastened north to join Lee, who was at or near Antietam. By a forced march, day and night, he reached his destination the next morning, the 16th. Not all of McClellan's forces were employed in the defense of Harper's Ferry; for in the afternoon of the same day General Pleasanton, with his cavalry, charged and routed a force of Confederate cavalry near Boonsborough. Richardson's division followed, and after a march of ten or twelve miles, discovered a large force of Confederates across Antietam Creek, in front of and near the little town of Sharpsburg. Richardson halted and deployed on the right, and Sykes with his division on the left. It was quite fortunate that General McClellan with three corps came up that same evening.

Lee had chosen a strong position and was waiting for the arrival of Jackson, Walker and McLaws from Harper's Ferry, who arrived with their divisions the morning of the 16th. Every hour's delay was of great advantage to Lee, enabling him to plant his batteries in the most advantageous position. Many think that McClellan made a serious mistake in not attacking Lee the evening of his arrival or early next morning; for at that time he had 60,000 fresh and gallant troops to hurl against an enemy of not more than half that number. This belief is based on the supposition of what might have occurred had McClellan struck the first night or early next morning, before Jackson, Walker and others with their divisions had arrived from Harper's Ferry. On the 16th of September, the whole of Lee's army had arrived and reported for duty, except

Hill's division which was left at the ferry. On this day "the two armies faced each other till night," as one writer states it.

On the morning of the 17th, the forces on both sides being in battle array, our columns advanced to the attack, and the mighty conflict, with its sad, sad significance was on.

Then followed, for two days, a sanguinary struggle of almost unparalleled intensity, not to say, ferocity. Darkness of the second day closed the dreadful carnage. The loss of life on both sides was appalling. One writer describes it thus: "So closed, indecisively, the bloodiest day, America ever saw." General Lee did not care to renew the battle next morning, with a knowledge of the previous day's fatality, and stole away during the night and moved across the Potomac, leaving behind his dead, 2,700, to be buried by us, and 2,000 of his seriously wounded."

Our entire loss in this battle, according to General McClellan's statement, was 12,469, 2,010 being killed; 9,416, wounded; and 1,043, missing. The aggregate loss of Lee's forces, as given in a subsequent report, by the general himself, was about 1,000 greater. McClellan's strength in this battle, as given by himself, was 87,164, and he estimated Lee's strength as 97,445. Lee, however, claims that he had less than 40,000 men, which evidently did not include some of his cavalry and one of his divisions. Pollard, in his history of the war, says that Lee, in this battle, for the last half day, did not have more than an aggregate of 70,000 men.

In Lee's retreat, he left a small force at the Potomac which was soon dispersed by our advance guard. He then moved westward to a creek near Martinsburg, where he rested for a short time and then retired southward to Winchester, west of the Shenandoah River. Seeing he was not pursued nor imperilled by McClellan, as he anticipated, Lee sent a division of his cavalry on a bold raid across the Potomac, up into

Pennsylvania, where he took Chambersburg, and captured a large amount of army supplies, including clothing and muskets. The stay of the Confederate cavalry was brief, and recrossing the Potomac below Harper's Ferry, unmolested by McClellan, they rejoined the main army at the said city of Winchester.

General McClellan sent forward troops to retake Maryland Heights, which, without opposition, they did on the 20th, and two days later Harper's Ferry was occupied by our forces.

There were general manifestations of joy with the administration and people at large over this Antietam victory; for it was the first victory, first one of note, achieved by McClellan since his appointment as major-general some fourteen months before. But now he assumed an attitude of inactivity, characteristic of his early military history when he held the large Union forces in and around Washington so long. He was blamed by many for not following up Lee in his retreat and reaping the fruits of his victory.

At this juncture, he had a controversy with the War Department and Administration, similar to the one he had had in the Peninsula campaign, as to the need of reinforcements, horses, clothing, shoes and equipment generally, and concerning which the Administration differed with him, asserting that abundant supplies had been furnished him. McClellan was urged to move on the works of Lee; and finally he was peremptorily ordered by Halleck to do so. This order was made on the 6th of October, at which time, according to testimony of Quartermaster-General Meigs, a most honorable and accomplished officer, "the army of the Potomac was thoroughly and completely equipped." McClellan was very slow and probably reluctant in obeying the order; for it was nearly six weeks after the battle before he crossed the Potomac and took his march southward, moving, as he did, unopposed down the

east side of the Blue Ridge Mountains till he arrived at Snickers Gap and Manassas; and then advanced to Warrenton. In the meantime, Lee with his army moved on parallel lines southward down the Shenandoah Valley.

At Warrenton, General McClellan was relieved of his command, General Burnside succeeding him. The reason for this unexpected order was not given; but if it had, it probably would have been an assertion from the President of the utter impossibility of the War Department and General McClellan working harmoniously in the great military movements that would devolve on the Army of the Potomac. The order from Halleck to McClellan to move on Lee contained the approval of both President Lincoln and the Secretary of War, but General McClellan practically ignored it, declining to cross the Potomac until a time suiting his convenience should arrive.

Occasionally, if not often, McClellan hesitated or declined to receive or execute orders from his superiors, when a great emergency or necessity demanded it. He seemed disposed to dictate to the War Department rather than receive its orders. Near the close of his unfortunate Peninsula campaign, when he was falling back on the line of the James River, General McClellan wired the Secretary of War thus: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army."

This must have been comforting news to both Secretary Stanton and President Lincoln. The surprise of surprises was that the President did not depose him then and there; but in the magnanimity of his great heart he condoned the offense and went farther than prudence would dictate, for after the defeat of General Pope in the second Bull Run battle, he turned over the latter's command to McClellan and trusted again, the fortunes of the country to his generalship. Senator

Blaine, in his great work, "Twenty Years in Congress," after giving general recognition of McClellan's ability, speaks thus: "The opinion of a majority of intelligent observers both civil and military, is that he was a man of high professional training, admirably skilled in the science of war, capable of commanding a large army with success, but at the same time not original in plan, nor fertile in resource, and lacking the energy, the alertness, the daring, the readiness to take great risks for great ends, which distinguish the military leaders of the world." He goes on to say: "For a commander of armies, in an offensive campaign, his caution was too far developed. He possessed in too great a degree, what the French term the defensive instinct of an engineer, and was apparently incapable of doing from his own volition what he did so well on the bloody field of Antietam, when under the pressure of an overwhelming necessity." (By special permission from Funk & Wagnalls Co., Publishers, N. Y.)

No person, however gifted in the expression of elegant, forceful diction, could more beautifully portray the delicate facts involved, than are given in the statements above narrated.

Thus ended the military career of General McClellan. In 1864 he ran for President on the Democratic ticket and was defeated by Lincoln. He afterwards went to Europe, where he remained three years. A few years subsequent to his return he was elected Governor of New York. He died October 29, 1885.

When General Burnside assumed command of the Army of the Potomac he was 38 years of age. He was a graduate of West Point, and as brigade commander at Bull Run, in the Peninsula campaign, with Pope, and also with McClellan at Antietam, he had made good. The President reposed great confidence in him. He possessed one redeeming quality, not characteristic of his predecessor—he would obey willingly, the

orders of his superiors. This is always the duty of a true soldier. Of course, there may be some exceptions, in an extraordinary, exceptional emergency.

After consultation with General Halleck, General Burnside moved south and crossed the Rappahannock on the 13th of December, opposite Fredericksburg. Previously, General Lee with his united army had arrived from Winchester, and occupied a strong position on the heights at Fredericksburg, his entire force being about 80,000 men. The Union forces under Burnside were estimated at 100,000.

The battle was soon on, Burnside making the attack, though under great disadvantage. On the 14th and 15th little fighting was done, but on the 16th a bloody and decisive battle was fought, resulting in the defeat of the Union forces, and compelling Burnside to recross the Potomac. His loss was heavy, but not quite as large as that of McClellan at Antietam. The Union loss was 1,138 killed, 9,105 wounded and 2,078 missing; the Confederate loss was about half that number.

News of the unexpected and untoward disaster brought grief as well as depression to the President and to the people as well. Lee had lost some prestige by his defeat at Antietam, but all was restored by this signal victory, and the advantage we had secured in that great battle had been sacrificed in the Fredericksburg disaster. The supreme embarrassment and chagrin of Burnside can better be imagined, probably, than expressed. The great results that he and the people had anticipated from this campaign had become abortive. General Burnside had not desired this appointment when given him by the President, feeling hardly able, as he expressed it, to command an army of 100,000 men. Perhaps, at this juncture, it would have been better had he resigned, as some of his officers had desired, and so reported to the President.

President Lincoln comprehended and relieved the situation

by appointing General Burnside commander of the Ohio department, in which he made good. Burnside was afterwards corps commander under Grant in the Wilderness campaign, and was held in high esteem by his associate generals.

Thereupon, in January, '63, General Joseph E. Hooker, known as "Fighting Joe" Hooker, was assigned to the command of the army of the Potomac, and a request was made, asking the army to "give to the brave and skillful general, who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and co-operation." The assignment of General Burnside to the Department of Ohio closed the military campaign of the Potomac for the year 1862. A further consideration of the movements of the Army of the Potomac will be given in a subsequent chapter.

I desire now to turn the attention of my readers to the movements of the Union forces in the southwest.

During the year 1862, while the great Lincoln and the Nation were mourning over the loss the army had sustained in the East, General Grant was achieving a series of victories in the southwest, the like of which was almost unparalleled in the history of American warfare. With his valiant army, he went on from conquering to conquest, till a half dozen or more cities were subdued and their people suing for mercy. Early in '62, he moved up the Ohio River to the mouth of the Tennessee River, thence south to Fort Henry, which was quickly taken, thence to Fort Donelson. Here, a desperate battle ensued; but at the expiration of three days, the Confederates surrendered, unconditionally, losing 10,000 or 12,000, taken prisoners, besides probably 2,000 killed and wounded. They also lost a large number of horses, mules, stores and provisions. General Grant reported his loss at about 1,200 killed, wounded and missing. The fall of Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, Corinth and other places soon followed. These marvelous vic-

tories brought cheer and reassurance to the heart of the President and to the people as well.

In recognition of the great service General Grant had rendered his country, President Lincoln elevated him to the rank of major-general, and placed him in command of the army of Western Tennessee. Thereafter, early in 1863, General Grant laid siege to Vicksburg, the "Gibraltar" of the Confederates on the Mississippi. After a long and memorable siege, in which my elder brother and other Iowa troops participated, the Confederate general, Pemberton, capitulated, unconditionally, on July 4; approximately 37,000 prisoners, 150 cannon with immense military supplies fell into our hands.

In November following, he reduced Chickamauga and took Lookout Mountain, thus defeating the distinguished Confederate, General Bragg. This brilliant, strategic movement placed General Grant on a footing with the ablest generals of any country and of any age. The battles as above recited constitute the larger engagements of the campaign in the southwest during '63; though many others of greater or lesser magnitude were fought, concerning which I do not care to mention, as it is not my purpose to write an extended history of the war.

On March 1st, 1864, General Grant was invested with the highest military title in the land, that of lieutenant-general, and was placed in supreme command of all the armies of the United States. He was called to Washington and the Atlantic coast, and was soon in front of and confronted with the proud and hitherto unconquered forces of General Lee, with his great army. The conflict between the two for supremacy was long and sanguinary. Of this, I will speak later.

During the campaign of 1863 in the East, two of the great battles of the American Civil War were fought, one at Chancellorsville, near the Rappahannock, Va., May 2nd and 3rd;

the other, at Gettysburg, southern Pennsylvania, July 1st to 3rd. At Chancellorsville, General Hooker commanded the Union force, and General Lee, the Confederate force. General Hooker's army was superior in numbers, being about 130,000, while that of Lee did not exceed 60,000; yet it is said the advantage, probably in location, lay with the Confederates, especially at the end of the second day. During a flank movement, General Howard's corps was surprised and thrown into a panic. This was near nightfall of the first day.

In this engagement, Stonewall Jackson, the most brilliant officer of the Confederate army, Lee excepted, was mortally wounded. The conflict, which from the first was terrific, was waged for two days, at the end of which our army was worsted. Our loss in killed and wounded was said to have been 18,000, while that of the Confederates was only 13,000. The news of this disaster nearly killed Lincoln. He had placed all confidence in the military genius and skill of Hooker, but he had not made good.

General Lee, flushed by his recent victory at Chancellorsville, decided to invade Maryland again and march even farther up into Pennsylvania. He evidently thought that by virtue of his recent victories in the two preceding memorable battles, he was justified in the conviction that his march into the two states would produce a radical change in the sentiment of the people there and induce a mighty revolt. In this he was sadly mistaken. He evidently had forgotten the cool reception he formerly received on Northern territory, as well as the fatal mistake made and the humiliating defeat he suffered at Antietam the year before. He hoped, however, to redeem that record, and took the risk.

Scarcely had a month elapsed since he achieved the victory over Hooker and compelled him to recross the Rappahannock when he put his forces in movement up the southern bank of

that river. He crossed the Potomac on the 24th and 25th of June and marched to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, two days later. It will be remembered that Lee had sent a detachment of troops up to this city the previous year, where they effected the destruction of much property, as well as military stores and supplies, and then returned to their command.

General Hooker, having learned of the northern movement of Lee and his army, commenced his march in the same direction, but differing with General Halleck as to the disposition of the 10,000 troops at Harper's Ferry, on the 27th, asked to be relieved of his command. On the 28th, this request was granted by Halleck, and General Meade was appointed in his place.

A change of commanders on the eve of a battle, then anticipated and soon realized, was, in the minds of many, of doubtful propriety and inviting probable defeat; for General Hooker, while failing to capture the enemy's stronghold at Chancellorsville, was nevertheless held in high esteem by his officers and men. General Meade, somewhat astounded by this unexpected promotion, delivered to his soldiers an address of courage and hope, and then assumed command. He realized that he was soon to confront or be confronted by a victorious army, commanded by a general of almost unprecedented military success, whose very presence in any engagement, like that of Napoleon, was worth more than 10,000 soldiers. Meade was conscious, however, that in the impending battle, he was meeting the enemy on Northern soil, and that fact was, to him, a source of hope and encouragement.

General Meade intended to attack the enemy at a favorable location, several miles from Gettysburg, near which a small portion of his army had arrived; but a collision occurred with the advance of Lee's army in the forenoon of July 1, and our men were forced back, taking a strong position on Cemetery

Hill, near to and in the rear of Gettysburg. General Hancock had been sent forward to examine this position, and reported that Gettysburg was the place to receive the Confederate attack. On receiving this news, Meade centered his whole force at this point.

The elevated position of Cemetery Hill proved a most fortunate location, and contributed largely to the success of the Union army. Had the enemy secured this first, the fate of that battle might have been different. About noon on July 2, the battle proper began, which proved to be one of the most sanguinary conflicts known in all the history of American warfare. In the afternoon of this day, Lee made a desperate effort to dispossess our forces from the vantage ground they occupied; and, while not successful, he thought he had gained an advantage which he resolved to press the next day, July 3, which proved to be one of the bloodiest days probably ever recorded in all the annals of armed conflicts.

During the forenoon of that day, the struggle was renewed by the Confederates, the main attack being made on our center. However, but little injury was done on either side. In the afternoon, our commander, seeing the enemy approaching, gave orders to his men to reserve their fire; and Lee, supposing that our cannon had been silenced, launched a column of 15,000 or 18,000 against the Union lines. As the Confederates came up, three lines deep, they soon were in easy range of our guns, and the order "to fire" came from our general. It was said by one writer, that "from thrice six thousand guns there came a sheet of smoky flame, a crash, a rush of leaden death. The line literally melted away." Another writer says: "The column (of the rebels) was practically annihilated, only a small portion escaping death or capture."

Shortly afterwards, other columns came rushing up, with intense momentum, even pushing right up under our guns, and

commenced bayonetting our gunners. "But," a writer says, "they had penetrated to the fatal point. A storm of grape and canister tore its way from man to man and marked its track with corpses straight down their line. They had exposed themselves to the enfilading fire of the guns on the western slope of Cemetery Hill; that exposure sealed their fate." The writer goes on to say: "Over the fields, the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back, the battle there was over. It was a fruitless sacrifice. They (Confederates) gathered up their broken fragments, formed their lines and slowly marched away. It was not a rout, it was a bitter, crushing defeat. For once, the Army of the Potomac had won a clean, honest, acknowledged victory."

It is said that the forces on each side were about 80,000, though not all were really engaged. Mead states that his losses around Gettysburg were 2,834 killed, 13,709 wounded, and 6,643 missing (mainly taken prisoners on the 1st), total 23,186. Lee gave no return of his losses, but it is said that 18,000 killed and wounded, with 10,000 unwounded prisoners, would fairly constitute the Confederate losses.

General Lee moved southwestward and crossed the Potomac at or near Williamsport, glad, no doubt, that he was once more on Virginia soil, though with a shattered, emaciated force, much inferior in every way to the proud hosts which marched so gallantly north a few weeks before.

News of the great victory at Gettysburg of our army soon reached the ears of the President, bringing relief and joy to his heart, for the tension of the situation as to the probable result of that desperate battle had been terrible. The next morning, July 4, the Executive issued a proclamation announcing the great triumph that had come to our army, for which "the President especially desires that on this day, He whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and revered with the profoundest gratitude."

The Fourth of July this year was made especially memorable by another great victory achieved by General Grant at Vicksburg, that day, the news of which reached the White House about ten o'clock, the very hour in which the President had proclaimed the victory at Gettysburg. These concurrent victories changed the situation and gave hope and reassurance to Lincoln and the people as well. Many thought then, as all have thought since, that these decisive and memorable victories, by the Union army, should have at once and forever terminated the bloody struggle.

Lee and his associate generals may have entertained convictions of this character; but if so, Jefferson Davis would never have assented thereto, preferring to die in the last ditch, as he and his troops finally did, rather than then surrender. What a vast expenditure of treasure and blood such a termination would have saved. However, in the further prosecution of the war, there may have been the approval of an All-Wise Providence; for we may not have been at that time sufficiently chastised as a nation.

It may have been necessary to proceed in the prosecution of the war, until, as Lincoln said so eloquently, "every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword." As was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

I have previously mentioned the promotion of General Grant to the rank of lieutenant-general, also his appointment to the command of all the American forces and his assignment to the command of the East, especially that of the Potomac. The incidents connected with and the results attained by this great general and his conquering army in the Wilderness of Virginia during the summer of 1864 and the winter following should not engage our attention. His appointment to this great

command restored and inspired confidence with soldiers and civilians alike. His presence in any engagement was, like that of Napoleon, of greater worth than would be that of a brigade of soldiers without him. His advance towards Richmond was confronted at every step with an equally victorious and well equipped army from the South. General Lee had suffered but two signal defeats, those of Antietam and Gettysburg, and practically no surrenders, during the war. His people, eight months later, had forgotten his misfortunes or forgiven him, probably both. He now could and did marshal the great forces, the very flower of the Confederacy, at his command. General Grant, with his characteristic, dogged tenacity, commenced his aggressive move against the strongholds of the enemy. The struggle was long and doubtful if not discouraging. He met with alternate successes and defeats; but his slogan was "On to Richmond if it takes all summer."

In the spring of '65 the Confederate Army of Virginia was reduced by desertions and its recent heavy losses, mainly in prisoners, to 35,000 men. It was concentrated from Richmond to Petersburg on the south. Finally, on April 2, General Sheridan flanked the Confederates at Big Five Forks, Va., capturing their entrenchments with 6,000 men. General Grant then ordered an attack all along the enemy's line, with the result that the Confederates were driven from their entrenchments from Appomattox above Petersburg to the river below. The assault was terrific, and the loss of life almost unprecedented.

General Lee, seeing that his fate was doomed, ordered the same day, the evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond. On April 3 the Union forces marched triumphantly into and occupied the two cities. All then knew that the war was at an end. By rapid movements, Grant cut off Lee's retreat to Lynchburg and Danville, and came up to him at Appomattox Court

House on April 9. He demanded Lee's immediate surrender, and the latter, seeing the futility of further resistance, yielded and handed General Grant his sword. The noble Grant, with almost unparalleled magnanimity, returned the sword to General Lee. The latter, though conquered, was in no sense humiliated. The two great military captains remained friends thereafter, as long as each survived, as I think.

It will be remembered that General William Tecumseh Sherman, an officer scarcely second to General Grant in military achievement, had fought a great and successful battle at Atlanta, Georgia, thence marched to the sea, at Savannah, a distance of 290 miles. He soon captured Savannah and Charleston, and thence moved north through the Carolinas, capturing the most important cities. He was quite successful in cutting off the resources of General Lee, but his supreme and fortunate effort was in keeping the Confederate general, Joseph Johnston, at bay, and preventing him from making or forming a connection with Lee, prior to the latter's final defeat and surrender. In a few days, following Lee's surrender, General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman in North Carolina; and this, with the surrender of General Kirby Smith, west of the Mississippi, closed the war.

General Grant's friendly attitude and generosity toward the Confederates, both officers and men, at the time of the capitulation won their kindly regards and affection. He permitted the officers to take home with them their side arms, and to the men he gave the horses and mules, saying they would need them in the spring for their farm work.

The hungry, haggard appearance of the boys in gray excited the pity of the boys in blue, and the latter soon shared their rations with them to the fullest extent. Further, they drew added rations and filled the Johnnies' knapsacks to their capacity, thus enabling them to journey home in comfort, though

hatless, shoeless and half clad, as many were, to meet their loved ones, from whom they had been so long separated.

Over the successful termination of the war there was, in the loyal states, universal rejoicing. The people at first could scarcely believe the end had come. As soon as the news of Lee's surrender was confirmed the joyous demonstration knew no bounds.

Fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, embraced each other in tearful, happy anticipation of the early arrival of the dear boy or boys (in our family there were four), some of whom they had mourned as dead. Sure enough, in a few weeks, the boys in blue, "who had borne their banners so bravely, against every discouragement on a hundred battle-fields," came marching home. The sound of their footfall on the old home threshold was the signal of their arrival, and in a moment their lives were imperiled, for their breath was almost kissed away. Even the old family dog manifested his interest by approaching and wagging his tail.

The noon or evening meal was soon ready, the table freighted with the good things that mother only could prepare. In the evening, neighbors and friends would call to add their good wishes and happiness over the arrival of the soldier boy. When the hour of retiring had arrived the old father or sometimes, the widowed mother, would take down the old family Bible, and reading from Luke 15, or Psalms 91, would thank the Heavenly Father for the return of their son, or thank Him that "a thousand had fallen at his side, and ten thousand at his right hand, but it had not come nigh him."

CHAPTER V.

MARTYRDOM

THE five days following the surrender of Lee were the happiest of all days to the loyal people of America, for the black war cloud had passed away, peace had been restored, and all were rejoicing over the glorious consummation. President Lincoln and all his cabinet were happy in the consciousness of work well done, also in the added thought that, at last the great rebellion had been crushed and the conquest of the Nation's foes had been effected. But on the night of the fifth day, April 14, the joy of the whole earth was changed to mourning, for that night witnessed the saddest, or one of the saddest, tragedies ever known or written in all the pages of recorded history, the assassination of the great and beloved war President.

The burdens of the long war had worn heavily on the President, so much so as to be observable to all, and one day he was heard to say: "I think I shall never be glad again"; but the reception of the good news from the front on the 9th of April had wrought a wonderful change in his looks and general appearance. Indeed, a marvelous transformation was shortly apparent. Honorable James Harlan of Iowa, a member of the United States Senate, and afterwards of the cabinet, in speaking of Lincoln during those happy, memorable days, said: "His whole appearance, poise and bearing had marvelously changed. He was, in fact, transformed." He goes on to say that his indescribable sadness, formerly apparent, "had been suddenly changed to an equally indescribable expression of serene joy, as if conscious that the great purpose of his life had been achieved."

On the day in which the news of Lee's surrender at Appomattox was received the cabinet meeting was held an hour earlier than usual. Neither the President nor any member of the cabinet was able for a time, so a writer says, to give utterance to his feelings. "At the suggestion of Mr. Lincoln, they all dropped on their knees and offered, in silence and in tears, their humble and heartfelt acknowledgments to the Almighty for the triumph granted to the national cause."

Of the many notable and memorable addresses delivered by Lincoln during his eventful career, the following was his last. On Tuesday evening, April 11, '65, he was serenaded at the White House, and this was his response: "Fellow Citizens: We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army give hope of a righteous and speedy peace whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a national thanksgiving is being prepared and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with the others. I myself was near the front (he had just visited and returned from Richmond) and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you; but no part of the honor, for plan or execution, is mine. To General Grant, his skillful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part. By these recent successes, the reinauguration of national authority, reconstruction, which has had a large share of thought from the first, is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty."

He speaks further of the embarrassment necessarily attending the solution of such national problems, and then closes by

saying: "In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act, when satisfied that action will be proper." ("Wayne Whipple," page 635, "Story Life of Lincoln," John C. Winston, Publishers, Philadelphia.)

Before retiring from the crowd the President requested the serenading band to play "Dixie," saying, "We have a right to that tune now." Little did Lincoln and the admiring multitude think that would be his last address; but such it proved to be.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land there was one jubilant cry, on April 14, 1865, and that was: "The war is over."

The air was vibrant with the spirit of universal rejoicing; and it is said by his friends that Lincoln never seemed to be more glad, more serene, than he did on that day. All nature seemed to combine to make things lively. The warm, balmy air of that spring morning, fragrant with the odor of blossoming trees and shrubs along the hillside and fringing the Potomac, in the gardens and city parks, was delightfully refreshing. The prevailing good cheer of the White House was enhanced that morning by the presence at the breakfast table of the President's oldest son, Captain Robert T. Lincoln, an aide-de-camp of General Grant, who had arrived from the front that morning. The important events of the Wilderness campaign, with the closing scenes thereof, were doubtless discussed with absorbing interest by father and son.

The President's heart was further delighted by the early arrival of General Grant that morning. The purpose of the General's call this time was not to discuss new plans for the further prosecution of the war, as on former occasions, but to talk of peace, and the unbounded cheer and delight it would bring to the people, to all the people. The cabinet convened

early in the morning, Friday being the regular day for such meeting, and General Grant was invited to remain at the session.

It should be remembered that at this time General Joseph Johnston had not surrendered to General Sherman (though he did shortly afterwards), and intense interest centered in General Sherman's movements. General Grant was questioned as to his convictions regarding the probable outcome. He was optimistic in his thought and expressed the opinion that Johnston's capitulation would be only a matter of a few days, which proved true. Much of the time at the meeting was consumed in the discussion of the question and policy of reconstruction, which naturally would soon come to the fore.

The President took this, the first opportunity, to express himself as opposed to any policy or act of vindictiveness or revenge towards the people of the South. He had agreed with General Grant, all along, that a complete conquest or suppression of the rebellion was the only policy to be pursued, if a restoration of peace was ever attained. But now, as the South was conquered, it was not wise or necessary to add to their humiliation.

The President further remarked that "he hoped there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over." He further stated that "we must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union." It was his desire that a feeling of good-will and cooperation with the South should be encouraged. These were the impulses of his noble heart and generous nature. (Under obligation for some thoughts extracted from Ida M. Tarbell's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," Vol. 2, Pages 230 to 235. Published by Macmillan & Co., N. Y.)

Many entertained the opinion then and since, and the writer concurs therein, that if President Lincoln had survived, the long, bitter, acrimonious debates in Congress, during the years of reconstruction would have been avoided.

The cabinet meeting having adjourned, and the lunch having been served, the President suggested to Mrs. Lincoln that they take an afternoon drive. He dispensed with the services of a coachman, evidently wishing that no one should accompany them that they might the better enjoy the converse alone.

"Mary," said he, "we have had a hard time of it since coming to Washington, but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet."

He also spoke of his Springfield home, the incidents of his early days, the law office, the cottage in which their four children were born; thus throwing off the tension of the war days, and enjoying once more, in anticipation, the scenes of their early life in their far-off prairie home. "We have laid up some money," he continued, "and during this term we will try and save up some more." He admitted, however, that he might not have enough to support them comfortably, in which event he might open a law office in Springfield or Chicago, and thus earn enough to afford them a livelihood during their declining years. (I quote from Dr. I. N. Arnold's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," Page 429.)

On their return from their drive the President met a number of his friends, one of the number being an old-time associate, Governor Richard Oglesby of Illinois. During the afternoon the President performed two acts of mercy, one of them being the pardon of a deserted soldier, sentenced to be shot, saying as he did so, "The boy can do more good above the ground than under ground." The other act was his approval of an application for discharge of a Confederate prisoner, on his taking the oath of allegiance, on whose petition he wrote, "Let it be done."

Previously a theater party for that evening had been made

up by the mistress of the White House, and General and Mrs. Grant were to be her guests. They were to see Laura Keene at Ford's Theater, in "Our American Cousin." The box had been secured early in the day, and a large number arranged to attend, in anticipation of seeing the Presidential party and the "Hero of Appomattox." The manager of the theater had given extended publicity in the afternoon papers that the "President and his lady" together with "General and Mrs. Grant" would be present that evening to attend Miss Keene's benefit.

It was ascertained late in the afternoon that General Grant and his lady had changed their plan and had decided to go north that night. This occasioned great disappointment all around, and someone suggested then that the party be given up; but lest the public be disappointed the President thought it best to keep the engagement. A couple of young friends were then invited to take the place of General and Mrs. Grant, which invitation was gladly accepted.

The President met Speaker Colfax that afternoon and cordially invited him to accompany him and Mrs. Lincoln to the theater that night, but owing to a previous engagement to start west that night, Mr. Colfax had to decline.

The Presidential party was a little late getting started, and then shaking hands with a few friends, the President accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the carriage, and was driven off quickly to the theater. It is said that the President and party arrived about the middle of the first act and were received with hearty applause. The band played "Hail to the Chief," and all eyes were turned to the distinguished guests occupying the box.

A large arm chair was placed to the front and left for the President's use, which on arrival, he occupied, Mrs. Lincoln taking a chair to his right. The accompanying guests occupied seats in the rear.

About the middle of the third act a foul assassin, in the person of John Wilkes Booth, approached stealthily from the rear and sent a bullet crashing through the brain of the great President. The assassin leaped from the stage, flourishing a dagger, having dropped his revolver, crying "Sic temper tyrannis," "thus be it always to tyrants."

In his descent from the stage Booth's spur caught in the flag, which brought him to the floor, fracturing a bone in his left leg. This seemed to be providential, for by this accident his flight was impeded and his escape made impossible. He disappeared through a rear door and hastened to his horse that he left in the alley and, mounting quickly, rode rapidly away. At the President's box all was in commotion. The shrieks and moans of Mrs. Lincoln could be heard above the din, and were heartrending. The President was seen to partially rise, after the shot, but sank back in his seat, by help of an attendant, his head falling on his breast.

A few soldiers improvised a stretcher and, placing the limp, unconscious form thereon, bore him tenderly across the street to a private home. One of these soldiers told me of this sad incident many years thereafter. In a few moments several army surgeons were by his bedside and did all that mortal man could do to resuscitate their distinguished patient, but in vain. Around his bedside stood several of his friends, including Judge William T. Otto, an old-time acquaintance and friend, holding his hand; Attorney-General Speed and Rev. Dr. Gurney, the President's pastor while in Washington.

One writer speaks of the scene and surroundings with much pathos, as follows: "Leaning against the wall stood Secretary Stanton, who gazed now and then at the dying man's face, and who seemed overwhelmed with emotion. From time to time he wrote telegrams or gave orders, which, in the midst of the crisis, assured the preservation of peace."

I think all the remaining members of the cabinet (except Secretary Seward, who had been assaulted by a would-be assassin the same night) were present, and several senators, as well, pacing up and down the corridor."

At last, about 7:30 on the morning of April 15, the surgeon announced that death was near, and a few minutes later the pulse ceased to beat. The dying man never regained consciousness from the moment he received the fatal shot.

It is said that "Mr. Stanton approached the bed, closed Mr. Lincoln's eyes, and drawing the sheet over the dead man's head, uttered these words in a very low voice, 'He is the man for the ages.'"

The news of the sad tragedy was flashed over the country that day and almost paralyzed the people. Never had the Nation been convulsed in such deep mourning. Sorrow, like a funeral pall, brooded over and settled down on the people. I had returned from the army and reentered college. No more study or recitations that day. The old college bell seemed to peal out the solemn words: "Lincoln's dead, Lincoln's dead."

All business was suspended. Men gathered in groups to discuss the sad news, while others passed each other in silence, the weeping eye, the falling tear indicating the sorrow of heart within. Old men and women, alike, would meet and weep like children.

Never was a public man held in such endearing relationship. Even the picture of the martyred President on the wall was sufficient to evoke expressions of sorrow, often mingled with tears. At Washington the President's remains lay in state in the Capitol for a few days, viewed by a large number of sorrowing citizens. Then the funeral train, with its precious freight, the bereaved widow and family and a few friends, including Bishop Simpson, commenced its long and mournful journey from Washington to Springfield, Ill. This was done that the dear form might have its last resting place near his

former home, amid the scenes of his early struggles and triumphs, surrounded by those he had loved and served so well. In going to Springfield the train took the same route that Mr. Lincoln and family had taken in going to Washington, four years before. Thus they passed through Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, thence westward through Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, to Springfield.

Through all that journey, in every city, hamlet and town through which they passed, sorrowing citizens, in large numbers, turned out to pay a tribute of love to their fallen chief-tain. At Springfield a vast concourse of people had assembled to show their appreciation of their former distinguished citizen and be present at the last sad rites.

At the memorial services Bishop Simpson, the eloquent Methodist divine, a warm personal friend of the late President, delivered an able and impressive funeral oration. In closing, he expressed the hope that the spirit and mantle of the great Elijah (Lincoln) might fall on the young Elisha (Robert), and then invoking the blessing of the Father of all mercies upon our stricken country, upon the deeply bereaved family and upon the large assemblage then present, he closed. Loving hands then bore the precious form to its last resting place, where it will remain in quiet, undisturbed slumber till the morn of eternity's dawn shall awake him to an eternal day.

What inspiration and hope to the young men of America is thus afforded by the life and character of this great man!

Without training, self-educated, in due time aspiring to and becoming a great lawyer, an eloquent speaker, and an eminent statesman. By his unaided aspiration, without political influence, he carved his way from the lowest position to the highest, in the gift of the people, and having reached the summit at last, "from the topmost round of fame's ladder, he stepped to the skies."

(End of Part Two)

PART THREE
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LINCOLN

CHAPTER I.

HIS GENEROSITY AND HUMOR

IN THE following pages I purpose giving some of the leading, dominant characteristics of the great Emancipator as they were revealed or unfolded in his private and public career. Among the number may be included his ardent love of books, his naked honesty, his love of and trust in the common people; his sympathy for the private soldiers; his aptitude and love of story-telling; his religious life; his marvelous, unexcelled oratory.

While his education was quite limited, young Lincoln early acquired an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. Books were scarce and newspapers unknown in his unsettled, rural community. A few books, however, were obtainable, such as the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, Weems' Life of Washington, Aesop's Fables and the life of Robinson Crusoe, the contents of which he devoured as a hungry man would his meals. He read and re-read each till he knew them almost by heart. As he grew older, more books were available, and it is said that he read every book he could secure within a radius of fifty miles of his log-cabin home.

At that early date oil lamps were not in vogue, and tallow candles scarce, so he would stretch himself, stomach down, on the floor in front of the old Dutch fireplace, book in hand, where he would read by the light of burning pine knots till midnight and sometimes into the wee hours of the morning.

This intense, student habit he maintained through his mature years (although in more favorable circumstances, of course) so at the time of his election to the presidency, in all

the line or domain of political history, law, statecraft, statesmanship, diplomacy, public measures, world movements, etc., he was considered one of the best informed men in America.

Young Lincoln soon acquired the sobriquet of "Honest Abe" by several incidents which I will relate.

A few years after his admission to the bar, he acquired a reputation for superior ability as a jury lawyer.

Few men could cope with him in the trial of a case, especially when the interest of his client was peculiarly meritorious.

The following incidents are at point.

A cow belonging to an old Methodist clergyman had been killed on the track of the Illinois Central Railroad, and an action was brought for damage in the sum of \$20 against the said road by the owner of the cow. The services of young Lincoln were secured by the prosecutor. The officers of the railroad company, wishing to establish a precedent in such matters, refused to pay the claim. They resorted to a dishonorable method to secure their ends but failed. They had heard of the influence that Attorney Lincoln generally had over a jury in a civil trial, and made several attempts to buy him off, but in vain.

Finally the superintendent of the road approached him, with that hope in view, but failing to induce the young attorney to leave his client and undertake the cause of the railroad, he finally laid down the sum of \$500 in gold and offered that amount if Lincoln would come to their defense. This effort to bribe the young lawyer made Lincoln very indignant. He arose from his seat with the remark: "Mr. Superintendent: I would not leave my client and take your case if you would give me a fee-simple deed of your railroad. I don't know," he continued, "that I will win the case, and I do not know that I will get a dollar for my services if I should, but I would not leave my old clergyman-client and take your case if you would give me a deed of your whole road."

The railroad superintendent stated afterwards that when he arose and bade Mr. Lincoln good-bye, he never felt so sheepish and cheap in his life.

Another instance of his characteristic honesty is shown in the prompt payment of a book he had borrowed, which was destroyed through no fault of his. He had secured of a neighbor the loan of Weems' "Life of Washington," which book he was accustomed to place on the window sill of his log cabin, when he retired at night. One night there was a downpour of rain, and the defective roof permitted the water to flood the house, window sill and all. The book was partially destroyed, which greatly perturbed the young historian. He went at once to the owner and related the circumstance, asking the price of the book and offering to pay for same as soon as he could earn the money. The kind man gave "Abe" the price, but demanded no money, saying he could work for him three days and thus pay for the book. Young Lincoln proceeded to husk corn for the time named, and went home, the proud owner of the first book he ever possessed, probably. Other instances could be added, showing his sterling manhood; but let these suffice.

Mr. Lincoln was always a lover of the common people. This was due to the fact that his early environment and later activities were largely among the lowly. His own great heart went out in sympathy and kindly regard to the masses, and they, in turn, responded by vote and every other expression of appreciation that they could manifest. He always trusted them, and they loved and trusted him. He once said to Richard Yates, who afterwards was Governor of Illinois: "Dick, you can always trust the common people. You can fool some of them all the time, and all of them some of the time, but you can't fool all of them all the time."

"God must love the common people, for He made so many of them."

President Lincoln manifested early and always a deep sympathy for his soldier boys, and did everything in his power to ameliorate their hardships and lighten their burdens. Whenever his "boys," as he called them, were arraigned and tried for some violation of the rules of war, he was quite willing to investigate and ascertain, if possible, the causes that led to such violations. He often interposed with his pardoning power when he found the verdict of the military court martial was too severe or wholly unjust.

Permit two or three instances to suffice.

During the early period of the war a young soldier was found sleeping on his picket post during the silent hours of a dark night. He was duly tried by a military court, found guilty, and the usual verdict of death pronounced. The young soldier's mother, who was a widow, tried in vain to secure his release, but finally, broken-hearted and nearly distracted, she appealed to the President in person. He listened to her pitiful story and learned of the youthful appearance and age of her boy, and readily granted the pardon. He said afterwards to a friend that in all probability the soldier was a farmer boy, accustomed to early retiring, and it was a most natural thing that after a long day's marching, through dust and slime, the boy soldier, footsore and weary, should merge into a deep slumber when placed on picket duty, perchance at a late hour of night. He further stated that if he had consented to his death he would feel that the boy's blood would be upon his skirts when he passed into eternity.

The unbounded delight of the poor mother can better be imagined than described. It is said that she fell on her knees and kissed the President's feet, but he quickly raised her up and bade her take courage, for her son should surely live. She subsequently remarked that she had always considered President Lincoln, from pictures seen, a very homely man, but now

he appeared to her as the handsomest man that mortal eyes had ever beheld.

During the dark days of the war a pale, sorrowful looking, old man was seen in one of the outer rooms of the Capitol, awaiting an opportunity to see the President. It happened to be a busy week, and no one was permitted by the doorkeeper to visit Mr. Lincoln, except on special business. But each morning for three or four days the old gentleman would appear at the Capitol and, sitting in one corner of the great hall, await the coming of the President or seek an opportunity of seeing him. One day a kind-hearted Congressman, who had observed the depressed looking man there in the hall for several days, inquired of him as to his wishes, and proffered him any aid that he might be able to render him. The sorrowful man related his story, viz: that his soldier son had slept on his post, or had deserted (I forget which), and had been tried and convicted to die. The Congressman took him to the President at once, and related to him briefly the facts. The noble Lincoln listened attentively to the statements and plea of the poor man, for the life of whose son executive clemency was sought, and then sent a message to the front, saying: "Suspend the execution of the soldier (naming him) till you receive further orders from me. A. Lincoln." The father of the condemned soldier was pleased, but not quite satisfied. He approached the President and, in a trembling voice, said: "I hoped, Mr. President, you would grant a full pardon to my son." The reply of Mr. Lincoln was quite laconic, saying, if your son is not shot till the executioners receive orders from me, he will live to be as old as Methuselah.

Enough said. The old gentleman returned home with a song in his soul and love for the great Lincoln enshrined forever in his heart.

At one time during the war period there seemed to be an

unusual and unfortunate, stampede of deserting soldiers to the North and to Canada. The government made strenuous and continuous efforts to secure their arrest and return to their regiments. Eighteen of these deserters were at one time arrested and brought to speedy trial by court martial. Their guilt was quickly established, and a verdict of death soon announced. Under military rules, a verdict of death by court martial could not be executed without approval by the President.

The officers of the court and commanding generals, knowing the natural inclination of the President's mind towards clemency, besought him in this case to approve the ruling of court, and order the execution of the death sentence. They stated to the President that the discipline of the army required that an example should be made of these deserters, in order to prevent the depletion of their forces by continuous desertions. Too many, sadly too many, had gone already unwhipped of justice, for the future safety and proper discipline of the army, and of this fact Mr. Lincoln was fully apprised.

All of these circumstances appealed to his reason and almost won his assent. Shortly, however, his great heart outweighed his judgment, and he said to himself: "I won't do it. These soldiers are worth more to their country above the ground that below it. This war has made enough widows throughout this great land, without my adding to the number."

It is safe to say that these pardoned deserters were thereafter disposed to shed their last drop of blood, as many of them doubtless did, in defense of their country and its flag.

General Sherman was questioned afterward as to his opinion regarding the President's attitude in pardoning so many deserters, and his reply was to the effect that it did not affect him (Sherman) for he always shot his deserters first and then reported to the President.

It is generally conceded that Abraham Lincoln was the

champion story-teller of his state and age. He was the welcome guest as well as the soul and inspiration of every company in which he usually mingled or to which he was specially invited.

In Congress he soon established a reputation as an eminent speaker, but his reputation as an entertaining story-teller, in the lobbies, at social functions and elsewhere, was soon equally well established. Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the Constitution, was then a member of the Senate, and occasionally invited the Western Congressman, Lincoln, to his early breakfasts, where he could listen to his humorous, inspiring anecdotes.

There were many stories prevalent in his day and attributed to Mr. Lincoln of which he was not the author. However, it is safe to say that at least five hundred were evolved from his fertile brain, which he frequently used and to telling effect. It is said of Mr. Lincoln by those who knew him best that he did not often resort to this method of speech to merely entertain an audience or amuse a crowd, but in the delivery of a public address or in the trial of a great law suit, he would relate an anecdote or tell a story that would have a convincing, a powerful effect on his audience or the jury he was addressing. This he did to enforce a point or to enlarge, beautify or embellish an argument. This was generally productive of the desired result, for no man ever had a greater power of application than he. In the trial of many great law cases in which Mr. Lincoln was a participant, and in which the fate of the final issue seemed to hang in the balance, the relation of a story or anecdote pertinent to the case, by him, would frequently turn the tide of battle and give him the verdict. At other times he would use this method or weapon to confront or confound his opponents.

It will be remembered by my older readers that shortly after Lincoln's inauguration and the appointment of his cabi-

net, much opposition to Simon Cameron as Secretary of War, was developed. The President induced Mr. Cameron to change his position and accept an appointment as minister to the Court of Russia. Not long after this, and before the appointment of Mr. Stanton as Cameron's successor, a delegation of Senators called on the President and requested, yea, almost demanded the resignation or removal of the balance of the cabinet members. There were seven with Cameron, the names of the others being Gideon Wells, Governor Seward, Caleb B. Smith, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair and Edward Bates.

The demand of the Senators for their removal was more insistent than courteous. The President listened patiently to the solons, and then, without indicating what he would do, related this story: "An old farmer in Illinois, near my Springfield home, had a number of fowls. One night there was a great commotion in the barnyard among the poultry, and he was satisfied something was wrong. He seized his shotgun and went out to ascertain the trouble. Shortly he spied what he called seven thieves. He drew a bead and killed one. He returned then to the house where he was met by his wife who had heard the report of the gun. She inquired what he encountered in the barnyard. He replied that he had found seven thieves, one of which he had shot. 'Now, John,' said she, 'you must go right back and kill them all.' 'No, Betsy Jane,' replied John, 'that won't do, for if the shooting of one produced such a stench, what would the killing of all seven do?' " The Senators indulged in a hearty laugh and then retired. This was the last the President heard of any cabinet reconstruction.

During the military campaigns of 1861-62, while Generals McDowell and McClellan were suffering defeat after defeat in the East, General Grant was achieving marvelous victories

in the West and Southwest. In the early months of '62 he fought a desperate battle at Fort Donelson. During the first day his troops were badly worsted, but the second and third he rallied his forces, turned the tide of battle and repulsed the enemy with a great slaughter. Shortly after the battle a rumor soon became current that the defeat of Grant of the first day of the battle was due to the fact that he was intoxicated. This allegation was never substantiated, but his enemies took advantage of the rumor to injure him and, if possible, benefit themselves. Shortly after the battle some Congressmen called upon the President, protesting against the further continuance of General Grant as commander of the Army of the Tennessee. They cited the alleged fact of Grant's intoxication at Fort Donelson, and that at other times he drank too much to be fit for so responsible a position. Some assert that a general sought Grant's removal for the same reason, hoping, it was thought, to secure the position himself.

The President listened to the plea of his callers for a moment, and then inquired if they knew what brand of whiskey General Grant was in the habit of using. They thought for a moment, and then replied that they did not know. The President expressed the wish that they would ascertain, if possible, the particular brand thus used and let him know; "for," said he, "I would like to get some of it for distribution among some of the other generals." Mr. Lincoln was never bothered after that about the necessity or wisdom of superseding the great commander.

It will be recalled that during the first months of the war, General Fremont, then commanding the Missouri Department, issued a proclamation abolishing slavery in his military jurisdiction. President Lincoln, thinking the time was not ripe for such a bold procedure, countermanded the order. However, General Fremont's proclamation enlisted the sympathy and

deep interest of anti-slavery people throughout the nation, and many and persistent were the petitions that reached the White House, asking for the universal abolition of slavery by executive proclamation. Many delegations also arrived, one being from Chicago, a delegation of clergymen.

The gentlemen of the cloth requested of the President the early abolition of slavery, thinking the time had arrived when such a movement had met the approval of the masses, and that its consummation would result in the early termination of the war. The noble President did not share their convictions, knowing the time had not yet arrived for such precipitous action. The members at length retired, bidding Mr. Lincoln a pleasant good-bye, bespeaking for him a successful prosecution of the war and hoping for its early termination.

One clergyman tarried, however, that he might have a private interview with the President. In this conversation he urged the President, perhaps with some effrontery, to take immediate action along the line suggested, saying that the Lord had revealed to him that now was the time, the opportune time, for the President to move. Mr. Lincoln smiled and then replied jocosely that if it was the Lord's wish that slavery should at once be abolished, He would reveal the fact direct to him, without going round by the way of wicked Chicago.

Mr. Lincoln would relate, at times, some of his laugh-provoking stories in the cabinet meetings, and was chided once therefor by a member. He replied by stating what was evidently true, that while feeling the weight and responsibility of the great war, if he could not give vent to his feelings at times, he could scarcely survive. A few more of his humorous stories follow:

On one of his visits to the army in Virginia he wished to go from one division to another, and was driven thereto by a soldier with a span of mules. The soldier found it necessary

to apply the whip frequently and each application of the whip was supplemented by an oath. The President watched the proceedings patiently for a while, and then inquired of the driver if he were not an Episcopalian. "No," was the quick reply, "I am a Methodist." "Oh, I thought you must be an Episcopalian," said Mr. Lincoln, "because you swear just as Governor Seward does, and he belongs to that church." It is said that during the balance of the journey the ears of the passengers and mules as well were not disturbed by the accustomed vocabulary of the driver, though the whip was brought into frequent requisition.

In a former chapter, I made mention of the great happiness afforded me in hearing Abraham Lincoln and Judge Douglas in the first of their memorable debates in August, 1858. The incident named below did not occur, as I recall, when I heard these renowned statesmen.

It will be remembered that these great debates were held in the principal cities throughout the State of Illinois. By previous agreement one would speak for an hour, the other would follow in an address of an hour and a half, and the first would have a half-hour for rebuttal. When I heard them, Judge Douglas spoke first. On all these occasions Mr. Lincoln was clothed, not in the finest attire like his antagonist, but was covered with a long linen duster. At one of these meetings, it is said, Mr. Lincoln, arising to reply to the Judge, took off his long duster and handed it to a friend, remarking as he did so: "Hold my coat while I stone Stephen." You can easily imagine the merriment it occasioned.

During the young manhood of Lincoln, while he was yet studying law, by common consent he was regarded a leader among the young set. This was true in manly sports and in intellectual pursuits. Whenever a question would arise in their literary gatherings, the solution of which was beyond their ken, they would say, "Let us submit it to Abe; he can tell us."

On one occasion the question was presented as to the length a man's legs ought to be, in order to be in due proportion to his body. No one being able to give a satisfactory answer it was turned over to young Lincoln. "Well," said he, "that is a difficult question. Its discussion has almost precipitated war among some nations, like the War of the Roses in early English history. I have given the subject much thought myself, but after deliberate and mature consideration, I have arrived at this conclusion: that a man's legs ought to be long enough to reach from his body to the ground." That answer settled the controversy.

In the trial of legal cases, the narration of an apt story or an anecdote by Lincoln was often more effective with the jury than lengthy argumentation. On one occasion, when defending a man for assault and battery, it was alleged by opposing counsel that the defendant might and should have protected himself without inflicting such injury on his assailant. Young Lincoln rejoined as follows: "That reminds me of a story. A man was passing a farmhouse one day and was attacked by a vicious dog belonging to the farmer. The traveler seized a pitchfork and quickly dispatched the dog. The farmer was indignant beyond measure, and cried out: 'What made you kill my dog?' 'What made him try to bite me?' responded the traveler. 'But why did you not go at him with the other end of the pitchfork?' asked the farmer. 'Well, why did he not come at me with the other end?' was the reply." Nuff said. The jury gave its verdict to Lincoln, as this writer opines.

Mr. Lincoln was once invited to address a delegation of editors and, in his remarks, told the following story. It was thought by many that he had reference to himself, though it did not so appear. He stated that a gentleman was walking through the woods one day along the country road, and met a lady on horseback. When in front of him she stopped and

remarked abruptly, looking him in the face: "Law me, you are the homeliest man my eyes have ever beheld." "I know it, madam," he replied, "but I can't help it." She hesitated for a moment and then answered: "Well, then, you might have stayed at home."

The disposition to retaliate or avenge a wrong was always foreign to the kindly, generous mind of the noble Lincoln. This was shown on many occasions.

From the close of his Congressional career in 1846, to the year 1858, when he ran for United States Senator, Lincoln devoted himself unceasingly to the practice of law. His reputation as a great jury lawyer extended to many cities in his own and adjacent states. In 1855 he was called to Cincinnati, O., as assistant counsel in a famous case wherein Edwin M. Stanton and George Harding were also employed. They were attorneys for the defendant. It was soon ascertained that the plaintiff had but two advocates and that one of the counsel for defendant must withdraw. A fine opportunity for the display of legal lore and forensic ability in this noted case was given, and doubtless both the famous orators coveted it.

Mr. Stanton was chosen, to the evident chagrin and keen disappointment of Mr. Lincoln. He had come a long distance and presumably desired to establish a record or, at least, to sustain or maintain the one he already possessed. However, the pleasure of participating in the celebrated case and delivering the closing address, as anticipated, he could forego. But the discourtesy he received from Mr. Stanton while in the city was altogether inexcusable, and added to Mr. Lincoln's humiliation and disappointment. Mr. Stanton expressed his disdain to Mr. Lincoln, in the latter's hearing, in language as follows: "Where did that long-armed creature come from, and what can he expect to do in this case?" He described him further as a long, lank creature from Illinois who wore a linen

duster, with perspiration and stains on the back sufficiently large to represent a map of the continent. That was almost adding insult to injury.

No wonder that the great Lincoln remarked to a friend, on returning home, that he "never before had been treated so brutally as by that man Stanton." But six years thereafter, Mr. Lincoln had wholly forgiven, if not forgotten, the ungentlemanly, discourteous remarks. It will be recalled that in the summer or fall of '61, Simon Cameron resigned his position as Secretary of War, and that Mr. Edwin M. Stanton was invited by the magnanimous President to become Cameron's successor and come into his official family. This generous act must have conquered and won the proud heart of the haughty barrister.

The President knew, doubtless, that Stanton possessed the qualities that would admirably adapt him to the position to which he had invited him. He was bold, daring, possessed of an iron will, resourceful, and a man of distinguished ability. His marked success in the War Department during the three or four years of his incumbency fully justified the wisdom of his appointment by the President. Whatever adverse opinion the President had previously entertained towards his War Secretary was now waived and fully subordinated to the one all-absorbing thought and desire that the war might be successfully prosecuted and the rebellion quickly suppressed. NO RETALIATION NOR REVENGE HERE, YOU SEE.

In the Senatorial campaign of 1858, concerning which previous mention has been made, it was often necessary to ride on the Illinois Central Railroad, that being the principal if not the only road in the state running north and south. At this time, George B. McClellan was vice-president of the road.

It frequently happened that Mr. McClellan would accom-

pany Judge Douglas and his party from point to point in a special car and a finely equipped train, while Mr. Lincoln was compelled to ride at times in a cattle car on a freight train, to his different appointments. Sometimes he would be seen arriving in a city or town, wrapped in a linen duster, by the side of the driver in an old prairie schooner drawn by a mule team. Such was the disrespect, not to say indignity, shown Mr. Lincoln by Mr. McClellan, the vice-president of the road. Take notice, kind reader, as to what happened just three years thereafter.

Shortly after the Bull Run disaster, in July, '61, President Lincoln found it necessary to secure some strong military commander to lead the American forces; General McDowell had not made good, and General Winfield Scott, in his age and decrepitude, was unsuited for the position. At the suggestion of General Scott, McClellan, who had served with him as captain in the Mexican war fifteen years before, was invited to Washington. On his arrival, he was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac and given a major-general's commission by the President. He also had supreme command of all the American Union forces for many months, up to the time that General Halleck was assigned to that position.

Think you, kind reader, that the noble President, in handing McClellan his commission as major-general, a bestowment of the highest military honor in the gift of the executive, thought of the unkind treatment accorded him by McClellan a few years before? If so, it was not apparent. Such magnanimity, such greatness of mind or soul are seldom if ever found in any or all the pages of recorded history.

CHAPTER II.

HIS RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE early religious inspiration and training of young Abraham was received from his mother, at her knee. Her dying injunction given him when nine years old, to love his sister Sally and their father, in their loneliness; to be obedient and faithful to his Lord as she had early taught him, and make the Bible his constant companion; followed him all his remaining days. His facility in making apt and appropriate scriptural quotations to enforce a point or embellish an argument in his addresses, revealed his familiarity with the Holy Book. This was true in his early and maturer years. In his great debate with Douglas in '58, he quoted a scriptural passage in my presence that became very effective in molding public opinion in all his future political campaigns. It was similar to the first Revolutionary shot fired at Bunker Hill. It was heard around the world.

Mr. Lincoln was illustrating the fact, never before declared, that our country could not long endure, half slave and half free. It must become all one or all the other. Then he clinched the fact by stating that "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

He proceeded to say: "I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house will fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided." This slogan concerning the impossibility of the house standing when thus divided was used with wondrous effect in all subsequent anti-slavery addresses. It aroused public sentiment, as never before, to the enormity of the slave system and to the possibility of its future exten-

sion. It was thought by some that the frequent declaration and extended publicity of this brief though potent sentence was as effective in firing the American heart and leading to slavery's early overthrow as was the publication in 1852 of Harriett Beecher Stowe's great work, "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Mr. Lincoln's familiarity with scripture, especially with reference to its condemnation of slavery and its barbarism, was shown further in a conversation he had concerning the attitude of the clergy on the question.

A few days prior to the day of election in 1860 (I think it was), a straw vote of the citizens of Springfield, Illinois, was taken in order to ascertain in advance, as nearly as possible, the choice of each voter as to the two candidates at the approaching election.

The result of the primary vote was shown to Mr. Lincoln. He stated to a friend, as he scanned the paper, that he was desirous of knowing how the Christian citizens of the city, especially the clergy, stood on the slavery question. There were twenty-three clergymen of all denominations in the city; and to his deep chagrin and mortification, all, with three exceptions, voted for Douglas. The lines of political demarcation had been so closely drawn between the two candidates that fall that all knew that a vote for Douglas meant support for the institution of slavery, with its probable extension and perpetuity under the Douglas slogan of popular sovereignty. Those voting for Mr. Lincoln knew, also, that they were voting for a candidate who was opposed to the further extension of slavery and looked hopefully for the day when it would be in the course of ultimate and complete extinction.

When the great Commoner saw that twenty of the twenty-three resident ministers had voted for the Little Giant, as Douglas was called, his heart sank within him. He remarked, with tears in his eyes, that these men did not read their Bibles

aright. He stated that he did not claim to be a Christian, though he wished he were, but he had carefully read the Bible and did not so understand this Book. He was conscious in his great heart that these teachers and preachers of Gospel truth were wrong in their interpretation of the Holy Book, and felt that his position was correct and would soon be vindicated.

I desire to remark, incidentally, how different was the attitude of the clergy in the recent past in their efforts to secure the suppression of the liquor traffic. It is well known, or at least should be, that without their powerful influence, rum-suppression, incident to the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, would never have been effected. The clergy and membership of a small denomination and small influence seemed to be lukewarm and indifferent to the all-absorbing, paramount question of national prohibition, but not so with the great body of American clergymen.

The loyal and effective support of the church laymen and laywomen in their effort to secure legal supremacy over the liquor demon deserves special recognition, and this recognition and approval all good people everywhere will accord them. This speaks volumes for the Christian citizenship and Christian civilization of our great Republic.

President Lincoln was a constant reader of the Holy Bible and during the dark days of the war would often turn to its pages for comfort, strength and inspiration.

He once remarked that the Bible was the best Book God ever gave to man; and if we would take as much of it by reason as we could, and the rest by faith, we would live and die better men and women. On one occasion the wife of a Confederate captain who had been taken prisoner and placed in confinement called on the President, having secured transfer through our lines, and requested the liberation of her husband. In her plea for his freedom she presented several and various

reasons why he should be thus freed, and to each one the President gave a negative reply. Finally she stated that her husband was a Christian and for that reason she thought he deserved his freedom. Mr. Lincoln quickly replied, saying that a man who believed in holding men in bondage and who was disposed to eat his bread produced by the sweat of another man's brow, did not possess that kind of religion that would take him to Heaven.

In the fall of 1862, after our forces had suffered continuous defeats at Bull Run, under McDowell; in the Virginia campaign, under McClellan; and at Manassas Junction, known as the second Bull Run battle, under Pope; everything from the Union standpoint looked extremely foreboding. General McClellan was moving his forces northward through Maryland, and a battle at Antietam, Pennsylvania, was expected any day. Mr. Lincoln, usually brave, was at this time much depressed. He went, where he had often gone before, to his Maker and Lord, and promised Him, if he would bring victory to the Union army at the approaching battle at Antietam, he (Lincoln) would proceed to do what he had often thought of doing, issue his Emancipation Proclamation, giving freedom to the bond men.

On September 17th, the battle was fought, a most sanguinary conflict, and victory crowned our efforts. The heart of the President was greatly rejoiced, as was that of all the Nation; since this was the first Union victory since the beginning of the great war, a year and a half before. Mr. Lincoln was true to the covenant he had previously made with his Lord, and on the 22nd of that month (September) he wrote and submitted to his Cabinet his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, reciting among other things: "That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any

state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their actual freedom."

This was heartily approved by each of the seven cabinet members who were present. This was issued as a war measure, though doubtless the heart of the great President would have desired it absolutely and without any qualifications or restrictions; but he knew that the sentiment of the people then would scarcely have approved it. At the expiration of the hundred days previously named, to-wit: on the first day of January, 1863, none of the slave states having ceased their warfare and resumed their allegiance to the Federal Union, the President proceeded to redeem his promise and issued to the South and the nation what is known as one of the great state papers of the world, his final Emancipation Proclamation, giving freedom forever to four millions of a hitherto fettered, enslaved race.

At the conclusion of the reading of this remarkable state document, at the President's suggestion, all bowed their heads and on bended knees invoked the blessing of Heaven on the great measure they had that day approved and published to the world.

I have before alluded to a similar incident having occurred in the Cabinet room (and it will bear repetition) when on receipt of the news of Lee's surrender the President and his whole Cabinet bowed their heads and in silence and tears sobbed their gratitude and thanksgiving to the great Father of all Mercies for recent victories and for His marvelous deliver-

ance of the enemy into their hands. Such manifestations of praise could emanate from none other than those who have an abiding faith in the over-ruling providence of God and His divine goodness to the children of men. Mr. Lincoln greatly endeared himself to the American people by his humble trust and reliance on the Divine favor during the sad days of the civil war.

On one of those dark days, when the fate of the Nation seemed to hang in a balance, Bishop Simpson, an eminent divine of Philadelphia, called on the President. He was always a welcome guest at the White House, and frequently came at Mr. Lincoln's request. After a pleasant though somewhat sad discussion of the condition of the country and the possible outcome of the existing struggle, the bishop arose to bid the President good day, when the latter requested him to tarry and pray with him, saying that he was often driven to his knees with the overwhelming conviction that he had nowhere else to go; that his own wisdom and that of all about him was insufficient for the needs of that day. The bishop bowed in prayer, the noble President kneeling at his side, and invoked the blessing of Heaven on the stricken country, on the noble boys at the front, and especially on the great Executive, that he might have wisdom and endurance to prosecute the war to a successful termination. Doubtless, Mr. Lincoln responded with a fervent "Amen" at the close of the invocation.

Mr. Lincoln often showed his appreciation of the co-operation and sympathy of church boards and other organizations as expressed to him during the perilous days of the war.

In 1864, a delegation of the Methodist Episcopal Church Conference called on him at the White House to assure him of their loyalty and hearty support during the pending struggle. The President replied in his trenchant, significant way,

saying: "God bless all the churches, especially the Methodist Church, which has sent more soldiers to the front, more nurses to the hospitals and more prayers to Heaven for our country than any other church in America."

In the fall of 1865, I heard Bishop Simpson, the same bishop as named above, allude to the following incident. He stated that during the previous April he was holding an annual conference in Washington, similar to the one he was then holding in Iowa. At the conference he was urging his ministers, as was his custom, to be faithful and true in all their public services; for there would be some in each service, perhaps, who would hear the gospel message for the last time. As he was thus preaching he looked down the aisle, he said, and there sat Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States. Little did he think that that would be the last gospel sermon to which Mr. Lincoln would ever listen, but such it proved to be. The narration of that incident, spoken by the bishop in tender, sympathetic words, made a profound impression on the members of that great Iowa conference.

Little wonder that when a few days later, in April, the assassin's bullet had done its deadly work, Mrs. Lincoln and family invited the great bishop to accompany them and the funeral cortege to their far-away Springfield home, that he might perform the last sad rites before the dear form was laid away in its final resting place.

A young lady of eminent piety who had been an active worker on many battlefields and in hospitals, surrounded by and caring for the sick and dying, was late in the war a guest at the White House. She had administered religious consolation to the dying soldier as well as caring for and dressing his wounds while living. The President highly prized her for the sympathetic, religious service as well as the bodily care she had rendered soldiers on battlefields and elsewhere. She

was evidently a lovely character, and would stamp the impress of her sweet spirit on the minds of all with whom she would come in contact.

One day President Lincoln asked her what in her judgment constituted a Christian. She replied in a way that was satisfactory and conclusive to Mr. Lincoln as evidenced by his answer. She gave what I think is the generally accepted opinion of Protestantism, and promulgated by it, that we are saved by the mediatorial sacrifice of our Divine Lord, through repentance and faith. She doubtless illustrated it further by reference to the Savior's conversation with Nicodemus, recorded in John 3:3 and in John 3:16. She also may have alluded to the reply of Paul to the Phillipian jailer when he inquired of the great apostle: "What must I do to be saved?" recorded in Acts 16:31. The President listened attentively to this interesting, inspiring conversation and then replied: "Miss (giving her name), if all this is true, then I am a Christian."

One day a man of note called on the President at the White House and engaged him in conversation. During the conversation the visitor swore. The interview was closed at once. The President dismissed him, and leading him to the door, remarked: "I supposed you were a gentleman. Good day, sir."

During the sad days of the bloody conflict, some person remarked to President Lincoln that he hoped the Lord was on our side. Mr. Lincoln quickly replied that such a thought had not given him much concern. His supreme desire was that "we might be on the Lord's side, for the Lord is always on the right side."

I have already written at length concerning the three days' battle at Gettysburg, perhaps the greatest and most sanguinary of the Civil War. During a hotly contested engagement, General Daniel Sickles, a brave major-general, lost his leg. He

was taken at once to a hospital at Washington. As soon as the President heard of his arrival in the Capital, he hastened to his bedside. General Sickles, thinking perhaps that the President had not yet learned of the good news from the front, remarked that the deciding battle had been fought and that the victory was ours.

"O, yes," Mr. Lincoln replied, "I knew we would be victorious for I prayed till midnight that night, and had the assurance from the Lord that our boys would win the day."

CHAPTER III.

HIS GIFT OF SPEECH

IT has been said that "some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." I think it may be said, with almost universal assent, that Mr. Lincoln belonged to the middle class; for if any man ever achieved greatness and renown by means of his own unaided effort, in spite of persistent, often bitter, opposition, it was Abraham Lincoln. His early education, limited as it was, and his environment, unfortunate as it was, failed to dampen his ambition for advancement. They rather inspired his young heart with an eager, yea burning, desire to pursue his studies, unassisted by others, until he should arrive at a position where he would be recognized as a man of respectable, if not superior, literary and legal attainments. That the goal of his ambition was in due time reached, no one who knew him well will deny.

It might be said of Abraham Lincoln what was said of Edmund Burke, the great English orator and statesman, that he read everything and remembered everything. This was especially true in his young manhood, when good books and fine literature became more available. It is also quite evident that in early life and later years he aspired to oratorical pre-eminence and distinction.

It often occurs that men of genius have given in early life indication of their latent talent or bent of mind, and Abraham Lincoln was no exception. Thus Handel, the great German composer, at the age of seven, sought for and secured the best music teacher obtainable. John Stuart Mill, the eminent

writer and publicist, began the study of the classics, Latin and Greek, at the age of six, I believe. Elihu Burritt, sometimes called the learned blacksmith, began the study of languages in early life and subsequently became the most distinguished or one of the most distinguished linguists in America.

Young Abraham may not have displayed or unfolded his latent talent as early as did the others named, but his ruling passion for speaking was soon manifested.

Oftentimes in his early teens, he would betake himself to some quiet place in the adjacent dense forest and pour out his youthful, fervent eloquence to trees and stumps, which were his silent and only auditors. This practice, supplemented by public debates in the neighborhood log school houses, gave him a facility and effectiveness in public address that were at once attractive and entertaining. It was said that frequently while young Lincoln was yet a law student he would be called upon to reply to some Democratic orator in New Salem; and by his forceful logic and equally forceful sarcasm and apt anecdotes would give proof to the fact that he was able to cope with the best of them.

His remarkable ability as a public speaker led to his early entrance into politics, for it will be remembered that following his return from the Black Hawk War and while he was yet a young man he was elected four times to the State Legislature and thence to Congress. But his forensic oratorical ability became best known to the American people and to the world, perhaps, by his memorable debates with Judge Douglas during the Senatorial campaign of 1858. These great addresses stamped Mr. Lincoln as an orator, political orator, having few, if any, equals and no superior on the American platform.

His Cooper Institute speech in New York, delivered in February, 1860, was the most remarkable, or one of the most

remarkable, addresses he ever delivered, excepting, or scarcely excepting, his famous lost speech, of which previous mention has been made.

There were many noted editors present, like Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant and others, who gave extended publicity to the speech and speaker. This brought Mr. Lincoln to the fore and gave him and his cause proper recognition in the East and New England states. These great addresses brought him to the favorable notice of the masses and early stamped him as a most feasible presidential candidate for nomination at the forthcoming Republican national convention.

If there were any people who were not fully advised as to the distinguished ability of Mr. Lincoln, both as a writer and orator, a knowledge of this noted five-minute speech would reassure them. This short address is regarded by critics as the brightest gem in all the realm or domain of English literature.

There has been much discussion and difference of opinion as to the time and place of writing this brief but world renowned document. Many assert that it was written on the knee of the President while he was journeying from Washington to Gettysburg.

This was emphatically denied by a lawyer friend of mine, Hon. Cornelius Cole of Los Angeles (deceased at 102) whose office for fourteen years was across the street from mine.

He was in Congress, either in the lower or upper house, during the entire period of Mr. Lincoln's incumbency, and rode with the President in the same car all the way to Gettysburg and stood by his side the next day during the delivery of the address. He asserted to me that not a word was written by Mr. Lincoln on the journey.

The presumption of many, and especially of the gentle-

man at Gettysburg who entertained him overnight, is that the President wrote part of his address at the White House shortly before leaving, and finished it early next morning at the home of his host, before the beginning of the services which were at 10 a. m.

Senator Cole often remarked that at the close of the address, which was read, not much enthusiasm was manifested, though now it is regarded, as all know, as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, state paper known in all the annals of history, sacred or profane. It is now rehearsed in all the public patriotic gatherings, especially at the yearly Lincoln memorial services; and doubtless will be read by admiring multitudes as long as time and memory endure.

It will be recalled that Senator Edward Everett, an eminent orator and statesman, was chosen to deliver the main address on the occasion, a duty and privilege he discharged with marked ability, consuming an hour or more in its delivery, but this brief, 300-word message of President Lincoln will be read with mingled admiration and approval long after the learned Senator and his oration shall have been forgotten.

Charles A. Dana, the noted editor, called on the great War Secretary the next day after the Gettysburg celebration, and asked him if he had seen these Gettysburg speeches.

"Yes," he replied, "and the people will be delighted with them. Edward Everett has made a speech that will make many columns in the newspapers, and Mr. Lincoln's perhaps forty or fifty lines. Everett's is the speech of a scholar, polished to the last possibility. It is elegant and it is learned, but Lincoln's speech will be read by a thousand men where one reads Everett's, and will be remembered as long as anybody's speeches are remembered who speaks the English language."

Bliss Perry, also a noted writer, speaking on this subject says: "To have composed the Gettysburg address is proof

positive, were there no other, of Lincoln's place among the masters of English speech."

Following is a copy of Mr. Lincoln's address, the original being, I suppose, in the archives of the State or War Department of the government at Washington. It is written in Mr. Lincoln's beautifully characteristic handwriting, and can be read as easily as print.

Address delivered at the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg:

"Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who have given their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

"It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that govern-

ment of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

November 19, 1863.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A few months before his assassination, President Lincoln received a report from Governor Andrews of Massachusetts, conveying the sad intelligence of the death, in the army, of five sons of a lady who resided in that Commonwealth. He at once penned her a letter (of which the following is a copy) so full of sympathetic regard and condolence, in her hour of supreme bereavement, as to deserve, as it shall have, a place in this, my historic sketch of the great War President.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, Nov. 21, 1864.

To Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Mass.

Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A writer of note, in speaking of this letter, says: "It will go down to posterity as one of the finest expressions of condolence and sympathy ever penned in our language." It is further said that "a copy of this letter hangs on the wall in Brasenose College, Oxford University, England, as a model of pure and exquisite diction which has never been excelled."

Before closing, I desire to quote a few concluding passages from President Lincoln's second inaugural address. They are quite remarkable, as you will see, and as beautiful as remarkable. I may have referred to them before, and if so, they will bear repetition. In referring to this address, one writer says: "No nobler thoughts were ever conceived. No man ever found words more adequate to his desire." Read and re-read the following lines, almost divinely inspired, as we opine, beginning: "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

A few days after the delivery of the above named address, President Lincoln received a short letter from Thurlow Weed, an eminent editor of New York City, complimenting him over the said address and a former notification speech.

Mr. Lincoln's reply follows:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 15, 1865.

Dear Mr. Weed:

Everyone likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address.

I expect the latter to wear as well as, perhaps better than, anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

Truly yours,

A. LINCOLN.

The president of an Eastern college stated in substance a few years ago that the translators of the English Bible in 1611 were not only men of eminent piety, but men of distinguished literary attainments. He further stated that no writers since their day possessed in an equal degree, their ability to express themselves in forceful, charming English, embellished with a diction so elegant and refined. Abraham Lincoln, he said, came the nearest to the translators in this admirable quality of mind and heart of any person he ever knew. What a compliment!

The college president would pass over such world renowned, classical writers as Lord Macaulay, Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, Beaconsfield and others of Europe; and such writers as James Russell

Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry W. Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving and others in America, pass over all these and place the crown of superior literary attainment and merit on the head of the humble, yet immortal Lincoln. The eminent educator is not alone in his admiration of this distinguishing quality of the great Commoner's mind. Hear what the London Spectator has to say, touching the same opinion: "It is not too much to say of Lincoln that he is among the greatest masters of prose ever produced by the English race."

CHAPTER IV.

SAYINGS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Here are some of the great, short sayings of Abraham Lincoln:

- "Work, work, work—keep pegging away."
- "Give the boys a chance."
- "Hold on with a bulldog grip."
- "I can bear censure, but not insult."
- "Never regret what you don't write."
- "I am nothing, but truth in everything."
- "Don't swap horses in crossing a stream."
- "This nation should be on the Lord's side."
- "Public opinion in this country is everything."
- "Let us have faith that right makes might."
- "I am free from any taint of personal triumph."
- "Wealth is a superfluity of what we don't need."
- "If slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong."
- "With malice towards none, with charity for all."
- "The gentleman smelt no royalty in our carriage."
- "Many have got into a habit of being dissatisfied."
- "I know that I am right, for liberty is right."
- "I will hold McClellan's horse, if he will win a battle."
- "Is a man to blame for having a pair of cowardly legs?"
- "Where you can't remove an obstacle, plow around it."
- "That some are rich shows that others may become rich."
- "If you have made a bad bargain, hug it all the tighter."
- "Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe."
- "My politics are short and sweet, like an old woman's dance."

"If elected I shall be thankful, if not it will be all the same."

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

"God bless my mother. All I am or hope to be, I owe to her."

"We might just as well take the people into our confidence."

"My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union."

"What use to me would be a second term if I had no country?"

"With a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you."

"Faith in God is indispensable to successful statesmanship."

"When you have written a wrathful letter, put it in the stove."

"Suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation."

"If ever I get a chance to hit that thing (slavery) I'll hit it hard."

"These men will find that they have not read their Bibles aright."

"It is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong."

"My boy, never try to be President. If you do, you never will be."

"A private soldier has as much right to justice as a major-general."

"I am slow to learn and slow to forget that which I have learned."

"This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

"This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it."

"If men never began to drink, they never would become drunkards."

"Don't shoot too high—aim low and the common people will understand."

"I have great respect for the semicolon; it is a mighty handy little fellow."

"For thirty years I have been a temperance man, and am too old to change."

"I do not think much of a man who is not wiser today than he was yesterday."

"Gold is good in its place; but loving, patriotic men are better than gold."

"The Lord must love the common people; that's why he made so many of them."

"Better give your path to a dog; even killing the dog would not cure the bite."

"Now, sonny, keep that temperance pledge and it will be the best act of your life."

"No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent."

"He can compress the most words into the smallest ideas of any man I ever met."

"It is the same spirit which says: 'You work and till and earn bread and I will eat it.'"

"If Minnehaha means 'Laughing Water,' 'Weeping Water' must be 'Minneboohoo.'"

"I am like the boy who stubbed his toe: hurt too much to laugh, and too big to cry."

"Meet face to face and converse together—the best way to efface unpleasant feelings."

"Trusted in Providence till the britchin broke, and then didn't know what on airth to do."

"As our troops can neither crawl under Maryland nor fly over it, they must come across it."

"I believe I have made some mark which will tell for the cause of liberty long after I am gone."

"Until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword."

"Slavery is founded on the selfishness of man's nature—opposite to it is the love of justice."

"That government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

To several "weighty" men from the upper part of Delaware "Didn't the state tip up when you got off?"

"I want it said of me that I plucked a thistle and planted a flower where I thought a flower would grow."

"Let not him who is homeless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently to build one for himself."

"Take all the Bible upon reason that you can, and the balance on faith, and you will live and die a better man."

"A man has no time to spend in quarrels. If any man ceases to attack me, I never remember the past against him."

Declining to approve the death sentence of some deserters, he said: "There are already too many weeping widows in the United States. For God's sake, don't ask me to make any more."

"Nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages are sprouting out."

"You may fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

"If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it."

"Repeal the Missouri Compromise, repeal all compromises; repeal the Declaration of Independence; repeal all past history—you cannot repeal human nature."

"If all that has been said in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. God bless the women of America."

The above "Short Sayings of Abraham Lincoln" are taken from "The Story Life of Lincoln," written and compiled by Wayne Whipple, the noted writer and author of New York City, and published by John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia.

Commemoration Ode

He knew to bide his time,
And then his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame,
The kindly-earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

—James Russell Lowell.



